Ars
Quatuor Coronatorum

BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

QUATUOR CORONATI LODGE NO. 2076, LONDON.

FROM THE ISABELLA MISSAL



BRITISH MUSEUM ADD. MSS., 18,851
CIRCA. 1500 A.D.

EDITED FOR THE COMMITTEE BY W. J. SONGHURST, P.G.D.

VOLUME XXXVII.

W. J. PARRETT, LTD., PRINTERS, MARGATE.
1924.

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BEING THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE

Quatuor Coronati Lodge of A.F. & A.M., London,

No. 2076,

VOLUME XXXVII.

FRIDAY, 4th JANUARY, 1924.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., W.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, S.W.; John Stokes, P.Pr.G.W., West Yorks., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.Pr.G.W., Berks., P.M., D.C.; H. Poole, I.G.; W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.; and E H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. J. Walter Hobbs, T. H. Bryant, Chas. Curd, P.A.G.D.C., J. Chas. McCullagh, F. C. Stoate, as I.G., G. W. South, F. J. Asbury, Cecil Powney, P.G.D., W. J. Williams, B. H. Springett, J. F. Vesey-FitzGerald, G. W. Bullamore, W. E. Heaton, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., Walter Dewes, E. F. Adams, F. Jones, Ernest Mortimer, G. E. W. Bridge, W. Ridgeway, Geo. E. King, R. C. Rann, Wm. B. Collyns, F. Stanley Henwood, Alfred Hildesley, R. I. Clegg, G.Historian, G.L. Ohio, Ivor Grantham, W. T. Phipps, T. H. Thatcher, G. Trevelyan Lee, H. G. S. Barnes, A. Presland, W. T. J. Gun, A. H. Marchant, L. A. Engel, R. W. Ferris, R. J. Meekren, Geo. C. Williams, R. J. Sadleir, Ernest E. Sharp, Kenneth Eckenstein, M. Infeld, Arthur Heiron, Percy Green, Rev. Dr. H. G. Rosedale, P.G.Ch., A. N. Tyte, J. C. Mitchell, A.G.D.C., E. B. Cozens-Brooke, W. Young, W. D. Smith, Chas. S. Ayling, C. H. Chandler, Fredk. Bare, W. E. A. Candy, D. M. Forbes, H. A. Matheson, S. W. Rodgers, R. Hornby, T. C. Eckenstein, and F. G. Collins.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. W. F. Swan, S.W., Bucknill Lodge No. 4257; Jas. R. Hitchins, Glasgow Star Lodge No. 219 (S.C.); B. T. Tucker, Merton Lodge No. 2790; W. R. Hornby Steer, Lodge of Unity No. 69; J. R. Dadds, Ionic Lodge No. 227; and B. Ivanoff, Aldwych Club Lodge No. 3794.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; Ed. Conder, L.R., P.M.; Ed. Armitage, P.G.D., P.M., Treas.; Geo. Norman, P.A.G.D.C., J.D.; Geo. L. Shackles, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; R. H. Baxter,

P.Pr.G.W., E.Lancs., I.P.M.; L. Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M.; W. W. Covey-Crump, S.D.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; J. E. S. Tuckett, P.Pr.G.R., Wilts., P.M.; and W. Wynn Westcott, P.G.D., P.M.

One Lodge, one Lodge of Instruction and Forty-five Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Report of the Audit Committee, as follows, was received, adopted, and ordered to be entered upon the Minutes:—

PERMANENT AND AUDIT COMMITTEE.

The Committee met at the Offices, No. 27, Great Queen Street, London, on Friday, 4th January, 1924.

Present:—Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins in the Chair, with Bros. John Stokes, J. Heron Lepper, Rev. H. Poole, Gordon Hills, W. Wonnacott, W. J. Songhurst, Secretary, and R. H. McLeod, Auditor.

The Secretary produced his Books, and the Treasurer's Accounts and Vouchers, which had been examined by the Auditor and certified as being correct.

The Committee agreed upon the following

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1923.

BRETHREN,

We report with much regret the death of Bro. John Paul Rylands, F.S.A., on the 22nd March, Bro. William Brown Hextall on the 5th May, and Bro. Herbert Bradley, C.S.I., on the 3rd June. The services rendered to the Lodge by these Brethren are recorded in the *Transactions*. Bro. George Norman, M.D., and Bro. Rev. Herbert Poole, B.A., have been elected to full membership.

On the 30th November, 1922, our Correspondence Circle showed a total of 3,081, and 250 names were subsequently added. Against this we have lost 54 members by death, 73 by resignation, while 137 were removed for non-payment of subscriptions. The number carried forward is 3,067, a decrease of 14.

The accounts now presented show that subscriptions amounting to £445 16s. 8d. are still owing. The amount of £1,000 has been reserved for printing volume xxxv. and a similar amount for printing volume xxxvi., and meanwhile it is not possible to say what part of these sums will be available for reducing the Profit and Loss Account.

Our Local Secretaries continue to do good work on our behalf. Bro. Philip Crosslé has undertaken the duties in Dublin and the neighbourhood, and Bro. Gilbert William Daynes has offered his services in Norfolk. We regret that the death of Bro. H. K. Baines deprives us of a Local Secretary for Egypt, and that Bro. Frank Hughes has been compelled to resign from that position in Staffordshire by reason of continued ill-health.

For the Committee,

ALFRED ROBBINS,

in the Chair.

BALANCE SHEET, 30th NOVEMBER, 1923.

Liabilities.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Life Members' Fund (357 Members)				2334	0	0
,, Subscriptions, etc., received in advance				150	13	8
,, Correspondence Circle, 1922 Balance in hand ...				1000	0	0
,, do. 1923				1000	0	0
,, Sundry Creditors				59	6	3
,, Profit and Loss Suspense Account, being outstanding Subscriptions as per contra, subject to realization				445	16	8
,, Lodge Account— Balance 30th Nov., 1922	61	16	1			
Receipts ...	28	7	0			
	90	3	1			
Less Payments	42	7	0			
				47	16	1
				£5037	12	8

Assets.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Cash at Bank				226	5	10
,, Investment, £1,300 Consols at 56½ per cent.				734	10	0
,, Sundry Debtors for Publications				46	16	10
,, Sundry Publications ...				415	7	4
,, Sundry Debtors for Subscriptions in arrear:						
1923 Correspondence Circle ...	369	9	7			
1922 ditto ...	71	12	4			
1921 ditto ...	4	14	9			
				445	16	8
,, Repairs Suspense Account				70	0	0
,, Profit and Loss Account...				3098	16	0
				£5037	12	8

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for the year ending 30th November, 1923.

Dr.

	£	s.	d.
To Salaries, Rent, Rates and Taxes	675	0	2
,, Lighting and Firing ...	24	12	4
,, Stationery and Printing...	71	6	9
,, Postages	148	11	10
,, Office Cleaning	23	15	7
,, Insurance	13	18	1
,, Telephone, etc.	13	4	8
,, Carriage and Sundries ...	15	1	4
,, Local Secretaries' Expenses	3	16	5
,, Library Account	32	16	1
,, Furniture	6	10	0
,, Renewals and Repairs ...	60	6	10
	£1089	0	1
To Balance from last Account	2917	4	9
,, Balance brought down ...	181	11	3
	£3098	16	0

Cr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Correspondence Circle Joining Fees, 1923 ...	108	13	6			
,, 1923 Subscript'ns	71	11	0			
,, 1922 ditto ...	258	13	5			
,, 1921 ditto ...	203	10	1			
,, 1920 ditto ...	8	15	0			
,, 1919 ditto ...	1	11	6			
				652	14	6
,, Back Transactions ...				55	14	6
,, Lodge Publications ...				29	5	6
,, Other Publications ...				85	13	4
,, Interest on Consols ...	24	15	10			
,, Discounts ...	15	3	2			
				39	19	0
,, Life Memberships Lapsed				44	2	0
,, Balance carried forward...				181	11	3
				£1089	0	1
By Balance carried forward...				3098	16	0
				£3098	16	0

This Balance Sheet does not include the value of the Library, Museum, Furniture, or the Stock of Publications, and is subject to the realization of Assets.

I have examined the above Balance Sheet and Profit and Loss Account with the Books and Vouchers of the Lodge, and certify the same to be correct and in accordance therewith.

ROBERT H. McLEOD,

Chartered Accountant,

14, Bedford Row, W.C.1.

4th January, 1924.

Bro. the Rev. H. Poole read the following paper:—

MASONIC RITUAL AND SECRETS BEFORE 1717.

BY BRO. HERBERT POOLE.

THOUGH the rituals, catechisms, and exposures of the early part of the eighteenth century have, on the whole, been treated with contempt, and only reluctantly admitted as having any evidential value, yet the late Bro. R. F. Gould on at least two occasions [1] has hinted at the possibility that a scientific and accurate classification of the available material might yield results of value. So far as I know, no one has as yet completed this task, though I feel sure it must have been attempted. The late Bro. E. L. Hawkins, in the first (and unfortunately the only one) of his proposed series of papers on "The Evolution of Masonic Ritual," [2] confined himself largely to the 'Old Charges,' and made little attempt to estimate the authenticity of his later sources. He further—I say it with all diffidence—failed to recognise the great importance of Prichard's *Masonry Dissected* of 1730; and did not observe that it is that date, rather than 1716 or 1717, which should be taken as the real close of what may be called the pre-Grand Lodge period. There is a strong family likeness between the available documents up to that date, after which the picture changes completely; and I hope to show that, on the whole, the accounts which date from 1717 to 1730 confirm what we can gather from the older sources, and that Freemasonry during that period was substantially the same as in the pre-Grand Lodge period. I approach the task with some diffidence; but at least I have some hope that by opening up the subject I may perhaps clear the way for more expert statements on the whole subject.

Before dealing with the evidence in detail I must make it clear that I do not consider external evidence alone, but have also taken into account internal evidence as far as possible, and it is impossible to do justice to it on paper. We find question after question in one document bearing a strong likeness to similar details in another, and yet we may be able to see quite clearly that neither is in any way derived from the other. The inference is that the value of each is roughly the same, and any wide divergences which the documents may exhibit textually, or any evidence that they come from areas well separated, not only *add* to their value as independent witnesses, but also—and this is a point to be remembered, rather than constantly pointed out—suggest an antiquity greater than that of either of the individual documents.

Another point which must be referred to is the comparative lateness of the documents available. This is disappointing, especially as there are actually only four which can be definitely assigned to the pre-1717 period. But the absence of more early documents is not really surprising. There are clear indications, *e.g.*, in the Harris MS. No. 1, that there were secrets which must not be committed to writing; and it was no doubt the growth of speculative Masonry towards the close of the seventeenth century that led to the production of private MS. 'reminders.' Such we know to have existed, for there is no reason to doubt that Anderson's account [3] of the burning of MSS. in 1719 is founded on fact; indeed, we have two pieces of evidence of the destruction of writing thought to go too far—in the cases of the Harris No. 2 MS. and the Haughfoot Minute, which will be dealt with later. We should, therefore, not expect to find any early copies, and can only consider ourselves fortunate in that we have the few scraps which have been preserved.

[1] *A.Q.C.* xvi., 35; *Hist.* ii., p. 362.
[2] *A.Q.C.* xxvi.
[3] 1738, p. 111.

Now, as to the material and its classification. This seems to fall naturally into three groups, according to the manner of its appearance:—

A. In indisputably Masonic documents.
B. In MS. form, ownership and antecedents unknown.
C. In printed 'exposures,' etc.

This classification, however, is hardly as satisfactory as might at first appear, for, especially in Class C, we are able to sub-divide to a large extent; in fact, a different amount of weight has to be allowed for the evidential value of each separate document. Moreover, it is by no means impossible that one or more of the documents in Class C were deliberately drawn up by the Masons themselves, in order to throw dust in the eyes of the profane. Thus, Bro. Gould says of the Briscoe print, of 1724—the main text of which is, in substance, taken from an undoubtedly genuine version of the 'Old Charges'—that it[1] "was probably drawn up at the instigation of the Freemasons, as a sort of counterpoise to the catechism in the Flying Post." I am myself strongly inclined to believe that Slade's *Freemason Examined*, of 1754, may have had some such origin.

In view of much that has been said of Prichard's *Masonry Dissected*, of 1730, I have thought fit to limit the scope of my enquiry to the material (with one exception) available in the period ending at that very critical date. To extend my subject so as to include that epoch-making 'exposure,' which probably did as much as, if not more than, the 'rulers of Masonry' to develop and stereotype Masonry in the form in which we have it now, would involve a long and difficult discussion of the number of degrees given during the period 1717-1730, and also of the precise relationship of that ritual to the actual ritual in use both before and after the date of its publication. Each of these subjects requires separate discussion, if it is to receive adequate attention.

I have, however, to include the *Mason's Confession*, of 1755, which makes the perfectly plausible claim to have been the working of 1727, *i.e.*, pre-Prichard.

The material, then, is as follows:—

A. In indisputably Masonic documents.

1. Grand Lodge MS. No. 2—mid-seventeenth century.
2. Buchanan MS.—second half, seventeenth century.
3. Harris MS. No. 1—second half, seventeenth century.
4. The so-called "Haughfoot Minute," of 1702.
5. Dumfries MS. No. 4—early eighteenth century.
6. Tho. Carmick MS.—1727.

B. In MS. form, ownership and antecedents unknown.

7. Harleian MS. 2054 fragment—mid-seventeenth century.
8. Chetwode Crawley MS.—early eighteenth century.
9. Sloane MS. 3329—early eighteenth century.
10. Trinity College, Dublin, MS. (endorsed 1711).

C. In printed 'exposures,' etc.

11. The Mason's Examination—1723.
12. The Grand Mystery Discovered—1724.
13. The Secret History (Briscoe MS.)—1724.
14. The Whole Institutions of Freemasons Opened—1725.
15. The Grand Mystery laid open—1726.
16. The Grand Whimsey—1730.
17. The Mystery & Motions of Freemasonry discovered—1730.
18. The Puerile Signs & Wonders of a Freemason—1730.
19. The Mystery of Freemasons—1730.
20. The Mason's Confession (Scot's Magazine)—1755.

[1] *A.Q.C.* xvi., 37.

Little need be said about Class A.

1 & 2. Of neither of these MSS. is the history known; but both are of unquestionably Masonic origin, being sound copies of the 'Old Charges' of recognised types.

3. The Harris MS. No. 1 is of a slightly unusual type, as it is arranged in paragraphs with headings, and is in other ways more systematic than most. It is now in the custody of the Bedford Lodge (No. 157), to which body it was presented by one Bro. Harris in 1809; but there is not a scrap of *evidence* that it had formerly been in the possession of that Lodge, as suggested by Bro. Hughan. The 'form of the oath' given in this MS. is common to the three MSS. of the Harris Branch; and the note at the end, dealing with the secrets, would doubtless be, if the end of the Harris 2 were not unfortunately absent. Some of the material also appears as well in the Dumfries 4 and Tho. Carmick MSS. but their testimony is not independent, as both these MSS. are based on the Harris type.

The most important contribution of this MS. to the subject is the note at the end, referring to the secrets which must not be written, and the manner of communicating them. In the Harris MS. No. 2 this is omitted, the MS. ending abruptly in the middle of the final charge. Now the Harris 2, though very closely resembling the Harris 1, can be shown not to be a copy of it, but almost certainly a copy of the same original; and the abrupt ending seems to point to the fact that the concluding portion of the original had been rudely torn off. This may very likely have been done deliberately by some 'scrupulous brother' who considered the reference too esoteric to be written.

4. The Haughfoot Minute is unfortunately merely a fragment, as the previous page of the Minute Book has been torn out. The occurrence in a Lodge Book would, however, seem to place the material above suspicion. The date has, I believe, never been questioned.

This document agrees very closely, so far as it goes, with the Chetwode Crawley; and if the previous page contained—as one must suppose that it did—anything like the latter MS., then it must have been very esoteric indeed; and I again suggest that it was deliberately torn out for that reason.

5. Dumfries MS. No. 4. Here we are on difficult ground as the MS. is of a very composite nature. I have tried to show [1] that it is the result of intrusions by a Hope MS. on one which was based on the Harris type; but I have reasons for thinking that the Roberts print also played a small part in its composition; and if this was the case the Dumfries 4 cannot be dated earlier than 1722. There is, however, no reason whatever to doubt its genuine Masonic character; and we may safely accept Bro. Hughan's verdict,[2] that "undoubtedly a portion of the catechism may fairly be accepted as once used at Dumfries for Masonic purposes."

6. Tho. Carmick MS. This MS. is chiefly interesting for its connection with early Freemasonry in America, and also for its drawing of what appears to be a plan of the Lodge. It is a composite affair, which seems to have had a parentage somewhat similar to that of the Dumfries and Thistle MSS.—being copied from a MS. of Harris type largely influenced by one of the Sloane Family. No doubt can be thrown on either its date or its genuine Masonic character.

The MSS. in Class B require a little more notice, and it may fairly be said that they may all be presumed to be genuinely Masonic in character, as it is difficult otherwise to account for their existence. In no case is the exact date known, and the three more important ones have been much discussed in this respect: the tendency being to allow them only rather late dates because they

[1] *A.Q.C.*, 1922.
[2] *Old Charges* (1895), p. 140.

contain references to several degrees which are supposed not to have been worked until (say) after 1723.

7. The Harleian fragment is dated by experts as of the middle of the seventeenth century. Nothing is known of its origin or antecedents, but it is bound up between a genuine version of the Old Charges and a leaf containing something of the nature of Lodge accounts; and the fact of its occurrence among genuine Masonic remains seems to give it a certain value which it might not have had if it stood by itself.

8. The Chetwode Crawley MS. This is generally assigned to the early part of the eighteenth century; Bro. Hughan gives the verdict as 1730 or perhaps earlier. Nothing is known as to its history.

The most remarkable thing about this MS. is the fact that it contains, almost verbatim, the words of the Haughfoot Minute of 1702. The latter consists of the fragment:—

> ". . . of entries as the apprentice did Leaving out (the Common Judge)
>
> Then they whisper the word as before, and the Master Mason grips his hand after the ordinary way."

The Chetwode Crawley MS. reads:—

> "Then comming in again, he makes the Mafter=Sign, and says the same words of entry as the prentice did, only leaving out the Common Judge. Then the Mafons whifper the word amongft themfelves, beginning at the youngeft, as formerly. Afterwards, The yowng mafter muft advance & put himself in the pofture wherein he is to receive the word, And fays to the Honourable Company, whifpering
>
> The worthy mafons & Honourable Company that I came from, Greet yow well, Greet yow well.
>
> The the Mafter Mafon gives him the word & grips his hand, and afterwards, all the Mafons, which is all to be done to make a perfect Mafon."

I do not think that enough significance has, so far, been allowed to this coincidence, which, unless the two documents were in substantial agreement, could only have been the result of a very deliberate and clever fraud by some person who had seen the Haughfoot Minute.

The 'second' or Master's degree indicated in the Chetwode Crawley MS. is described in some detail, and commences with the removal of E.A.'s:—

> "ffirst, All the Apprentices are to be removed out of the Company, and non suffered to Stay, but only Mafon=Mafters."

Bro. Hughan pointed out,[1] that the records of the Haughfoot Lodge show no trace of any ceremony being performed which involved the exclusion of Apprentices: and, on these grounds, the evidential value of the MS. as a whole has been generally discounted. Every student is, of course, entitled to his own opinion on evidence of this kind, but to me it seems that the 'argument from silence' has little weight against the positive evidence of the Chetwode Crawley MS., and that the latter, though it may have been *copied* as late as 1730, must be regarded as a faithful description of a ceremony which was worked at the very beginning of the eighteenth century.

9. Sloane MS. 3329. A wide range of dates has been variously assigned to this document, and the general conclusion seems to be that the language is of fairly early seventeenth century, while the handwriting is of early eighteenth,

[1] *A.Q.C.* xvii., 91.

Bro. Gould, on *internal evidence*, gives his opinion [1] that "the Sloane MS. as a compilation (and not merely as a transcript) is of later date than 1723"; but for my own part I cannot regard as altogether impossible the more daring opinion of Findel,[2] that it was among the papers which Plot had before him when compiling his *Natural History of Staffordshire* (1686). At any rate, we know of no earlier document specially mentioning that a Brother must come down, even 'from the top of a steeple,' to answer a sign; while in at least one place the Plot account agrees practically verbatim with this MS.

But the Sloane MS. agrees too closely with other sources, *not* printed, to allow of the possibility that it is merely based on material available to the world. There is, in fact, little material in this MS. which could have been borrowed from any of the printed 'exposures.' On the other hand, it has at least one connecting link with the Chetwode Crawley MS.—in the phrase "the more the merrier, & the fewer the better cheer"; while otherwise there is little but the general similarity of the whole group to connect these two MSS. The Oath, which is here given in full, has several resemblances to the form given in the 'Old Charges,' especially to that in the Buchanan MS.

10. Trinity College, Dublin, MS. This MS. is undoubtedly genuinely Masonic, but its date is too close to 1717 to allow of an authoritative decision, from the handwriting, as to whether it is earlier or later than that critical date. It bears on its back the endorsement "Free Masonry. Feb. 1711"; but the fact that it appears to refer to *three* degrees has led to this early date being discredited.

As far as the catechism goes, it has the usual character. It is too short to reveal much; but it is worthy of note that the question "How high is your Lodge?" is not found in any of the *printed* versions—only in the Sloane and Dumfries MSS.—and thus points to the genuine antiquity of parts, at least, of the substance.

The MS. concludes with some information about the signs and secrets, and, although the reference to three degrees has led to suspicion, even in this section there are some marks of antiquity. A curious word given in this MS. is "Matchpin," which is obviously a corruption and suggests either a long tradition or a writing from memory or dictation. The method of showing one's necessity, by throwing down a tobacco stopper, also has a parallel in the 1723 print; but the difference between these two references is not sufficiently great to demand a long tradition.

Before leaving these MSS. in Class B, it is worth while glancing back at the dates with which they can be associated. The Chetwode Crawley has been shown to be *very* closely related to a document of 1702; the Trinity College, Dublin, MS. bears the date 1711; while the language of the Sloane has been reasonably ascribed to the seventeenth century. All three documents have, however, been discredited because they refer to matters to which no other reference is found. Considering the intentional secrecy of any records on the subject, this does not seem to me altogether sound; and I consider that we may fairly accept the dates indicated for the first two; while the third, except where quite unsupported, may be reasonably held to belong to (at least) the earliest days of the eighteenth century.

Class C, the printed 'exposures' and catechisms, may be presumed to have passed through profane, if not definitely anti-Masonic hands. It is, therefore, quite possible that they may have been wholly or in part invention. Examination, however, proves that the former suggestion is really out of the question, for they agree far too closely in places with the (presumably) authentic MSS. to allow of the possibility: while it is obvious that it cannot have been in the interests of the publisher to make any radical alterations in the material submitted to him. We are justified, then, in accepting their evidence, at any

[1] *A.Q.C.* xvi., 35.
[2] *Hist.* (1869), p. 118, n.; but see Hughan, *English Rite* (1909), pp. 35-36.

rate, when it receives independent support, as on the whole of value as relating to some period preceding their publication.

We have the further advantage, when dealing with this class, of having, in at least two cases, some contemporary evidence as to the way in which the publication was received.

11. The Mason's Examination, 1723: which was published in the *Post Boy* and the *Flying Post*. As the earliest 'exposure' which appeared in print, the presumption of genuineness is intrinsically greater than in any other case. And there is almost contemporary evidence that it was carefully suppressed by the Masons. Bro. Gould quotes [1] a rare pamphlet of 1726—only three years later—on their procedure:—

> "I remember when I was last in town, there was a specimen of their Examinations published in the *Post Boy*, but so industrious were the *Masons* to suppress it, that in a week's time not one of the Papers was to be found; wherever they saw 'em they made away with them. They went from coffee-house to coffee-house, and tore them privately out of the Books. Those they could not come at so easily they bought, even at the extravagant price of 2s. 6d. and 5s. a paper. By this means there is hardly one to be met with.
>
> The Free-Masons were prodigiously nettled at the publication of this *Post Boy*; yet, according to their united Assurance, they put a good Face on the Matter, and said there was nothing in it; but at the same time, huddled up the affair with all the Privacy imaginable; and presently put out a sham Discovery to invalidate the other."

The way in which the Fraternity 'put a good face on it' may perhaps be fairly indicated by the last verse of the song "To all who Masonry despise," which was printed by Cole in about 1732, and which also appears in the 1738 edition of the *Book of Constitutions*:—

> "Then let us laugh, fince we've impos'd
> On thofe who make a Pother,
> And cry, the *Secret* is difclos'd
> By fome falfe-hearted Brother
> The mighty *Secret* gain'd, they boaft,
> From *Poft-Boy*, or from *Flying-Poft*."

Most of the questions and answers in this document have a sufficiently close resemblance to similar ones in the MSS. to make it appear that the substance is genuinely Masonic. The description of the ceremony has some startling coincidences of expression with the Chetwode Crawley MS.; while the 'clothing of the Lodge,' which is mentioned, must have been known to many of the profane, as the custom is mentioned by Plot.

The document has, however, one feature which appears explicitly in no other, and which yet seems to point very strongly to its genuine Masonic nature. This is a reference to a 'reading' as forming part of the ceremony of admission. This will be dealt with in detail later: meanwhile, I will merely mention that the reading of the Traditional History and the Charges is almost the only feature of the ceremony of admission which we *know* from the 'Old Charges' to be of great antiquity.

12. The Grand Mystery Discovered, 1724. This cannot have been derived from any other known source, although the general family likeness is strong.

Besides several passages which seem to connect this print with the MSS., some light is thrown on the age of its original by a comparison with the Essex MS.[2] and the 'Institution of Freemasons.'[3] Neither of these can claim to

[1] *A.Q.C.* x., 137.
[2] B.M. Add. MSS., 6760.
[3] Reproduced in Tr. of Authors' Lodge, vol. iii. (1919).

come within our period: indeed, the former belongs to the second half of the eighteenth century. But it is important to note that a careful comparison seems to prove that the two MSS. could not have been copies of the print; and it follows that all three were derived from a common source—presumably Masonic—which was circulating in or before 1724. The degeneration of some doggerel verses at the end of the document into prose seems to suggest a fairly long descent from this original. The passage reads:—

> "Here's a Health to our Society, and to every faithful Brother that keeps his Oath of Secrecy. As we are sworn to love each other, the World no Order knows like this our Noble and Ancient Fraternity; Let them wonder at the Mystery.
> Here. Brother, I drink to thee."

In case there may be any doubt that this really was originally in verse, the reading "Let them wonder *what* the Mystery *is*," in both the Essex and Institution MSS.—both of which arrange the passage as if it were prose—seems to settle the question.

A strong proof of genuineness is supplied by the Oath given; which, though it differs from all the rest in Classes A, B, and C, is found to reproduce the wording of the opening articles of the 'obligation' in the 'Old Charges.' Two versions, it is true, were in print when the Grand Mystery was published—the Roberts and Briscoe: but the phrase in question—"be a true Liege Man to the King"—could not have been borrowed from either, for the former varies somewhat from the usual wording, while the latter has the curious reading (no doubt a printer's attempt at old writing) "Bear true Agement" for the usual "be a true liege man." It follows that the oath, if no other part of this document, is based on a genuine, and unpublished, Masonic source.

It is just worth while mentioning one curious feature of this document—the rather definitely Christian tone, which is almost entirely wanting in the rest, with the exception of the Dumfries MS. No. 4. The three Lights of the Lodge are taken to represent the Three Persons of the Trinity; while the two Pillars represent the "Strength and Stability of the Church in all Ages."

13. The Secret History, 1724. This consists of a copy of the 'Old Charges' (Briscoe MS.), followed by a series of elaborate signs used to appoint meetings with a Brother in various parts of London. I have already drawn attention to Bro. Gould's opinion as to its origin; but, however this may be, the document (apart from the version of the Old Charges) is of no value whatever in throwing light on Masonic usages of that date or earlier, and receives no confirmation from any other source.

14 & 15. The only known copies of these were formerly in the possession of Bro. A. M. Broadley, and they have never been reproduced. Unfortunately nothing is now known of their whereabouts or contents, so they cannot be dealt with.

16. The Grand Whimsey, printed in the *Daily Journal*, August, 1730. This version agrees very closely in certain parts with the Mason's Examination, of 1723; indeed, one part of the series of questions might have been bodily lifted from that source, were it not that the latter omits one question which is preserved in the Grand Whimsey, and which clearly belongs there. This is the question:—

> "Where was you entered?"

with its answer:—

> "In a Just and Perfect Lodge."

which precedes:—

> "What makes a Just & Perfect Lodge?"

The document also contains several other details which seem to point to its genuineness: *e.g.*, it refers to the Yellow Jacket and Blue Breeches of the Master, which elsewhere only appear in the Dumfries MS. No. 4 and the Mason's Confession, printed in 1755. There are, moreover, several agreements with the Chetwode Crawley MS.—*e.g.*, the use of the 'Kitchen' and the 'Hall' to distinguish Apprentices from Fellows or Masters; and also the fact that the writer distinctly points out that the person is only an Apprentice until he has 'pass'd the Masters Part.'

We are fortunate in having preserved a contemporary record of authoritative Masonic opinion on this publication. The following is an extract from the Minutes of the Quarterly Communication held on 28th August, 1730 [1]:—

> "Dr. Desaguliers stood up and (taking Notice of a printed Paper lately published and dispersed about the Town, and since inserted in the News Papers, pretending to discover and reveal the Misteries of the Craft of Masonry) recommended several things to the Consideration of the Grand Lodge, particularly the Resolution of the last Quarterly Communication for preventing any false Brethren being admitted into regular Lodges and such as call themselves Honorary Masons.
>
> The Deputy Grand Master seconded the Doctor and proposed several Rules to the Grand Lodge to be observed in their respective Lodges for their Security against all open and Secret Enemies to the Craft."

It would appear from this short notice that the Grand Lodge saw some real danger to the interests of the Craft in the publication of this catechism.

17, 18 & 19. These are merely reprints, practically verbatim, of the Grand Whimsey, and need not be considered separately.

20. The Mason's Confession professes to be an exposure of the procedure at a Lodge met at "D . . . about the year 1727," by a Mason who has arrived at "a conviction of that whole affair, as a mystery of iniquity." 'Profane and abominable,' 'lyes and idle nonsense,' are some of the phrases which he uses of the ceremony and oath; and he urges the publication of the document as a warning to others. Much stress cannot be laid on any of the detail, owing to the late date of publication, and an analysis of the contents with a view of showing its claims to authority will therefore be unnecessary; but certain passages in it are useful in confirming or explaining the earlier accounts, and its antecedents must be borne in mind when it is used for this purpose.

Such are the sources of information to be tapped for our purpose; but, before passing on to use them, I must again recall the fact that, though I have attempted in some measure to show reasons for considering that the various sources may be of value as evidence, yet a stronger reason remains to be found in the *variations* from one another of these closely-related documents. There are hardly two of them which cannot be shown to have some vital connection; and yet not one of them is copied from another. The inference, as I have already pointed out, is that, where they agree, their joint origin must be looked for a great way back; and the strikingly large number of verbal agreements among these documents lends some colour to the suggestion of Bro. Gould, many years ago,[2] that there may even have been some 'early and *authorised*' ritual. It may be remembered that Aubrey, writing in 1686, and apparently quoting Sir Wm. Dugdale as his authority, says of the Freemasons that "The manner of their adoption is very formall." I am convinced, myself, that the documents we are considering throw more light on the ritual of the pre-Grand Lodge period than they do on the development of that ritual in the subsequent decade.

[1] *Q.C.A.* x., p. 128.
[2] *A.Q.C.* xvi., 34.

I now pass on to a consideration of what can actually be gleaned from the sources which I have enumerated. Before doing this I must point out that I have made no attempt to separate operative from speculative, if any difference existed, except where this distinction seemed in any way to help to explain variations in practice; nor have I made any distinction between the working of different localities, *e.g.*, especially England and Scotland.

As to the former, we have no means whatever of determining to which class the documents belonged. One has, it is true, a feeling that it was the speculative element in the Craft which led to the written ritual; but there is no evidence on this point. On the other hand, there is one account—the Mason's Confession—which gives the impression of being an account of an operative, rather than a speculative, working. When, however, we examine the details of this document, and place them alongside of the rest, the ceremony described agrees, on the whole, very closely with the others, and I doubt if any real differences existed.

Again, the strong Scottish 'flavour' in several of the documents hardly needs to be pointed out, and it is a rather puzzling feature of the whole series. We cannot believe that all our Freemasonry is immediately derived from that country—the large number of definitely English copies of the Old Charges alone would prove the contrary. But the fact remains that the majority of the documents bear a strong Scottish impress, and I can merely state that I do not attempt to explain it, nor have I, when analysing the accounts, attempted to keep apart uses which appear to be respectively English and Scottish.

There can be little doubt that the Old Charges present us with, at any rate, a portion of the ritual of admission to the Fraternity. This ritual was somewhat as follows:—

A Prayer or Invocation.
Reading of the Legendary History.
The holding out of the V.S.L. for the Candidate to place his hand on, during
The reading of the Charges, which ended in
An OB.

It would perhaps be more proper to include the reading of the Charges in the OB, as the Candidate's hand was on the V.S.L. during this reading.

The printed Mason's Examination, of 1723, gives an account of the ceremony which agrees fairly closely with this:—

> "When a Free-Mason is enter'd, after having given to all present of the Fraternity a Pair of Men and Women's Gloves and Leathern Apron, he is to hear the ——— belonging to the Society read to him by the Master of the Lodge. Then a Warden leads him to the Master and Fellows; to each of whom he is to say—
>
> I fain would a Fellow-Mason be,
> As all your Worships may plainly see.
>
> After this he swears to reveal no Secrets . . ."

As to what exactly the missing word was, we can only conjecture. 'History,' 'Charges,' 'Constitution,' all seem to fit the gap fairly well; but the interesting feature of this 'exposure' is that the reading is mentioned by no other, and seems to stamp it as genuine.

It would appear from this account that there was some sort of perambulation of the Lodge between the Traditional History and the Oath. Nothing is more likely: for it is improbable that the Candidate was kept either standing or kneeling throughout the reading, and he would no doubt be led forward to take the Oath, and this might easily form a part of some such perambulation.

The Grand Whimsey, of 1730, is the latest of our sources, having been published only a few months before Prichard's Masonry Dissected. According to this account:—

> "two Wardens took me under each Arm, and conducted me from Darkness into Light, passing thro' two Rows of ye Brotherhood, who stood mute, to the upper End of ye Room, from whence ye Master went down ye Outside of one of ye Rows, and touching a young Brother on the Shoulder, said, Who have we here: To which he answer'd A Gentleman who desires to be admitted a Member of the Society. Upon which he came up again, & asked me, If I came there thro' my own Desire, or at ye Request or Desire of another; I said, My own. He then told me, If I would become a Brother of their Society, I must take the Oath administered on that Occasion . . ."

This at first sight appears to differ largely from the previous account; but I suggest that it is really only a modified—perhaps modernised—ceremony. The omission of the Traditional History may mark the final stage in the transition from operative to speculative; while the longer process of passing along the ranks of the Brethren and saying to *each* "I fain would a Fellow=Mason be" (if it ever was said to each of them) is reduced to a formal progress forward and the statement that the Candidate is "A Gentleman who desires to be admitted a Member of the Society."

The exact form of the Oath is given in a number of cases. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the simple conclusion to the Charges was amplified. The earliest form was somewhat as follows (I quote from the Grand Lodge MS. No. 1, of 1583):—

> "These Charges that wee have nowe rehearsed vnto yow all and all others that belong to Masons yee shall keepe. so healpe yow god and your hallydome, And by this booke in yor hande vnto y^r^ power. Amen, Sobeit."

The Buchanan MS. (second half, seventeenth century) substitutes:—

> "These Charges that you haue Received you shall well and truly keepe, not discloseing the secresy of our Lodge to man woman nor Child: sticke nor stone: thing moueable nor vnmoveable soe god you helpe and his holy Doome Amen."

The rest are largely variations and amplifications of this; and I will quote only the Sloane 3329 and the Chetwode Crawley MSS. The Sloane 3329 has:—

> "The mason word and every thing therein contained you shall keep secrett you shall never put it in writing directly or Indirectly you shall keep all that we or your attend^rs^. shall bid you keep secret from Man Woman or Child Stock or Stone and never reveal it but to a brother or in a Lodge of Freemasons and truly observe the Charges in ye Constitution all this you promise and swere faithfully to keep and observe without any mann^r^. of Equivocation or mentall resarvation directly or Indirectly so help you god and by the Contents of this book. So he kisses the book &c."

The Chetwode Crawley MS. gives:—

> "By God himself, As yow shall answer to God, when you shall stand before him naked at the great day, yow shall not reveal any part of what yow hear or see at this time, neither by word nor write, nor put it into write at any time, nor draw with the point of a Sword or any Instrument, upon the Snow or Sand, nor shall yow speak of it, but with an entered Mason, So help, God."

The manner of taking the Oath is given in some detail in the Grand Whimsey, which, as we have seen, appears to represent a somewhat modernised ritual:—

> "He then told me . . . I must take the Oath administered on that Occasion: To which assenting, a Square was laid on ye Ground, in wch they made me kneel bare-kneed & giving a Compass into my Right Hand, I set the Point to my Left Breast, and my Left Arm hanging down; the Words of the Oath I cant remember . . ."

The apparent absence of the V.S.L. in this account turns out on examination to be an omission: for the last question of the catechism is:—

> "Q. What was you doing while ye Oath was tendering?
> A. I was kneeling bare knee'd betwixt the Bible and the Square, taking the solemn Oath of a Mason."

while at the conclusion of the document there is a note which clearly refers to the taking of the Oath:—

> "N.B. There's a Bible put in the Right Hand, and the Square under the Right Elbow."

This is, it need hardly be pointed out, incompatible with the main description: but a very slight adjustment of the position would enable the V.S.L., Square, and Compasses all to play their parts. It is worth while placing beside this the account from the Scottish Mason's Confession, which professes to relate the experiences of 1727:—

> "He is made to kneel on the right knee, bare; then the square is put three times round his body and applied to his breast, the open compasses pointing to his breast, and his bare elbow on the Bible with his hand lifted up; and he swears . . ."

This account alone makes any reference to the rising of the Candidate from his knees after the Oath:—

> "Immediately after that oath, the administrator of it says, 'You sat down a cowan, I take you up a Mason.'"

The Harleian Fragment now plays its part:—

> "There is Severall words & signes of a free mason to be reveiled to yu wch as yu will answ: before God at the Great & terrible day of Judgmt yu keep secret & not to reveile the same in the heares of any person or to any but to the Mrs & fellows of the said Society of free masons so helpe me God &c."

As it stands this appears to be an 'address from the Chair'; but the concluding words seem to show that it is in reality another form of the Oath; and it is worth noticing its obviously close resemblance to that in the Chetwode Crawley MS. Its interest lies chiefly in the fact that it specifies to some extent what the secrets are to consist of—"several words and signs."

Now the Old Charges, in almost every case, imply, in the form of oath, that the ceremony is not yet complete. The short O.B. usually pledges the Candidate to "These Charges which we have rehearsed, *and all other that belong to Masonry*," or words to that effect; but the Harris 1 MS. goes further, and gives a hint, not what the further secrets or charges were, but how they were given:—

> "Then let the prson wch is to be made a Mason chuse out of the Lodge any one Mason who is to Instruct him in those Secrets wch must

> never be Committed to Writeing which Mason he must alway Call his Tutor then let the Tutor take him into another Room [*Dumf. MS. No. 3 says 'aside'*] and shew him all the whole Mistery that at his return he may Exercise w[th] the rest of his fellow Masons."

The Chetwode Crawley MS. agrees exactly in the main details with the Harris account:—

> "After he has taken that Oath, he is removed out of the Company with the youngest Mason; where . . . he is to learn from the said Mason the manner of making Guard, which is the Sign, word & posture of his entry . . ."

It may be mentioned that there seems to be some indication of a difference between operative and speculative practice when the Mason's Confession is placed alongside of this. After the oath, the writer says, he had still no information as to what the secrets were:—

> "One person in the Lodge instructed me a little about their secrets the same day that I entered, and was called my *author;* and another person in the lodge, whom I then chused to be my instructor till that time twelvemonth, was called my *intender*"

doubtless the same person that the Sloane 3329 refers to in the Oath, in the phrase 'we or your *attenders*.' I suggest that the speculative development in Masonry led to the change from the twelve-month instruction to a system under which the secrets were formally taught on the same night as the entrance—Harris 1 says 'to show him the *whole* Mistery,' but perhaps we ought not to take this too literally; and the 'tutor,' 'author,' or 'intender'—by whatever name he was called—was sometimes the youngest Mason (Chetwode Crawley MS.), and sometimes chosen by the Candidate (Harris 1 and Mason's Confession). The Dumfries 3 reading 'aside' for 'into another room' (Harris 1) or 'out of the Company' (Chetwode Crawley MS.) was doubtless due to the want of adequate accommodation in an individual case.

I think it is worth while adding here that from the Aberdeen Bye-Laws of 1670 [1] the Intender's duty seems to have been a responsible one: for while he was in charge no one else but his Master was allowed to teach the Apprentice; and when the time came for the Apprentice to be examined in Lodge, the Intender was liable to be fined if it could be shown that he had omitted any of the necessary instruction.

As to the manner in which this instruction was given, we have little information. After what I have taken to be some sort of perambulation, the Mason's Examination continues:—

> "he swears to reveal no Secrets of the Worshipful Fraternity, on Pain of having his Throat cut, and having a double Portion of Hell and Damnation hereafter. Then he is blind-folded, and the ceremony of ——— is performed. After which he is to behold a Thousand different Postures and Grimaces, all of which he must exactly imitate, or undergo the Discipline till he does."

The blank here is more difficult to fill than the earlier one. 'Initiation' (*i.e.*, instruction in secrets and mysteries) is the word which naturally suggests itself; but this appears *after* the 'ceremony of ———.' I am inclined to believe that there followed some sort of 'horse-play,' varying locally in its violence, such as has been associated with initiation in all ages, and still survives in Craft working in Scotland and elsewhere. The phrase 'the Discipline' seems to support this suggestion; and some colour is lent to it by the parallel passage of the Chetwode Crawley MS., which, though using almost identical language, uses it, however, in quite a different way:—

[1] Miller: *Notes on Early History*, etc., p. 64.

> "After he has taken that Oath, he is removed out of the Company with the youngest Mason; where, after he is Sufficiently frightened with a Thousand rediculous postures & Gramaces, he is to learn from the said Mason, the manner of making Guard . . ."

It is difficult to see exactly what occurred, and still more difficult to account for the recurrence of the 'thousand . . . postures and grimaces' in two documents, neither of which seems to have borrowed from the other. I am inclined to think that both obtain the phrase from some considerably older source, and that the Chetwode Crawley MS.—descended through a Lodge where 'horse-play' was in vogue—has applied it to something of that kind: while the Mason's Examination takes it to refer to the signs and 'posture' which the Candidate is taught to copy exactly.

We now reach what is perhaps the most vital, as well as difficult, part of the enquiry—what was actually taught to the newly-admitted Brother on his removal 'out of the Company.' It is worth noticing that in none of our sources is there any suggestion that any *operative* secrets were communicated as a part of the ceremony. These, naturally, would be covered by the pledge of secrecy taken in the O.B., but would, equally naturally, be learned by degrees in the workshop. What was necessary at the moment was the signs, tokens, words, and test questions which would enable the apprentice to prove himself a Mason when in the company of others. Before dealing with these, I must draw attention to a small problem, on which I am not prepared to express an opinion, but which should be borne in mind by the student.

All the sources imply (if they do not state it explicitly) that secrets were given after the oath of secrecy, and that this oath was administered at the commencement of the Masonic career of the Candidate. Now, since an apprentice was bound to his Master for seven years, and forbidden under heavy penalties to seek work elsewhere, it would seem to be not only unnecessary, but perhaps even undesirable, for the apprentice to be able to prove himself a Mason to a stranger. Is it possible that the giving of secrets to the apprentice indicates a 'telescoping' of ceremonies for the benefit of the speculative? I doubt if full weight has been allowed to this possibility by past investigators of the problem of the number of degrees of ancient Masonry.

The preparation for the 'return to the Lodge' (Harris 1) must have been the main task of the 'tutor' during the short period of retirement following the Oath. And the form which this took can be to some extent recovered. After the Candidate has mastered the 'thousand different postures and grimaces,' the Mason's Examination tells us:—

> "the word Maughbin is whispered by the youngest Mason to the next, and so on, till it comes to the Master, who whispers it to the entered Mason, who must have his face in due order to receive it."

This appears to be substantially correct, but the account omits any description of the entrance to the Lodge. This can, however, be supplied by the Chetwode Crawley MS. We gather from this source that the Candidate learns:—

> "the manner of making Guard, which is the Sign, word, & posture of his entry. and are as followes.
>
> Here am I the youngest & last entered Aprentice, As I am sworn by God and St. John, by the Square & Compass, and Common Judge, to attend my Masters Service, at the Honourable Lodge, from Munday in the Morning, to Saturday at Night, and to keep the Kyes thereof, under no less pain . . .
>
> Then all the Masons present, whisper amongst themselves the word, beginning at the youngest till it come to the Master=Mason, who gives the word to the entered prentice."

Then follows one of the puzzles of the Chetwode Crawley MS.; for the entry of a 'Master=Mason or ffellow=Craft' is also described. The Candidate is again removed from the Lodge, and 'words & signs of ffellowship' are learned:—

> "Then comming in again, he makes the Master=Sign, and says the same words of entry as the prentice did, only leaving out the Common Judge. Then the Masons whisper the word amongst themselves, beginning at the youngest, as formerly. Afterwards, The yowng master must advance & put himself in the posture wherein he is to receive the word, And says to the Honourable Company, whispering
>
> The worthy masons & Honourable Company that I came from, Greet yow well, Greet yow well.
>
> The the Master Mason gives him the word & grips his hand, and afterwards, all the Masons, which is all to be done to make a perfect Mason."

All this, except the addition of a degree, is confirmed by the Mason's Confession:—

> "First, then, three chalk-lines being drawn on the floor [*a diagram is appended*] . . .
>
> Says the master, 'Come forward.' Says the prentice, 'I wot not gin I may.' Says the master, 'Come forward; I warrant you.' So coming forward the first line with one foot, while he sets the other square off at *a*, he lays the right hand near the left shoulder, and says, 'Good day, Gentlemen.' Coming over the second line with one foot, while he sets the other square off at *b*, he lays the right hand on the left side, and says, 'God be here.' Coming over the third line with one foot, while he sets the other square off at *c*, he lays the right hand on the right knee, and says, 'God bless all the honourable brethren' . . .
>
> *Question.* What say you?
>
> *Answer.* Here stand I, (with his feet in the form of a square), younger and last entered prentice; ready to serve my master from the Monday morning to the Saturday night, in all lawful employments."

It is not difficult to reconstruct the actual ceremony, provided we put aside the separate degree indicated in the Chetwode Crawley MS. The 'Salutation' appears—usually near the end—in several of the catechisms; apparently as the culminating point of the process of recognition of a stranger. In one case—in the Grand Mystery, of 1724—it seems to be definitely associated with 'three steps' or something of the kind; for the catechism reads:—

> "Q. How many steps belong to a Right Mason?
>
> A. Three.
>
> Q. Give me the Solution ['Salutation' in Essex MS. and Institution].
>
> A. I will —— —— —— The Right Worshipful, Worshipful Masters, and Worshipful Fellows, of the Right Worshipful Lodge from whence I came, greet you well."

That the giving of the 'word' was the climax of the Salutation seems to be supported further by the next passage in this source. The salutation is answered by:—

> "Response. That Great God to us greeting, be at this our meeting, and with the Right Worshipful Lodge from whence you came, and you are ['also' in parallel versions].
>
> Q. Give me the Jerusalem Word? . . ."

This is, perhaps, further confirmed by the corresponding passage in the Sloane 3329:—

> "God is Gratfull to all Worshipfull Mastrs. and fellows in that Worshipfull Lodge from whence we Last came and to you good fellow wt. is your name (A) J or B then giving the grip of the hand he will say Brothr. John greet you well you (A) gods good greeting to you dear Brothr."

It would appear from this evidence that the sequence was as set down in the Chetwode Crawley MS., and not as in the Mason's Confession; and the whole may be reconstructed thus:—

The Candidate entered; placed his feet in the form of a square; and announced himself:—

> "Here stand I, . . ."

concluding by making the sign. He was then *perhaps* put through a few of the questions of the catechism; after which he was ordered to advance 'in due form'; at which he took the three steps as described in the Mason's Confession, and gave the Salutation. *Then* the word was communicated to him.

What word was taught to him during the retirement is doubtful; and there is no confirmation of the statement in the Chetwode Crawley MS. that he 'is to learn . . . the Sign, *word* & posture.' But that *the* word was communicated by each Brother whispering it to his neighbour, until at last it came to the Master, who gave it to the Apprentice, seems to be established by the agreement of this very MS. with the Mason's Examination; and it seems to follow that it was communicated inside the Lodge, and not during the retirement.

The giving of the word seems to have completed the ceremony of admission. According to the Mason's Examination:—

> "Then the entered Mason says what follows:
>
> An enter'd Mason I have been,
> Boaz and Jachin I have seen;
> A Fellow I was sworn most rare,
> And know the Astler, Diamond, and Square;
> I know the Master's Part full well,
> As honest Maughbin will you tell.
>
> Then the Master says:
>
> If a Master-Mason you would be,
> Observe you well the Rule of Three;
> And what you want in Masonry,
> Thy Mark and Maughbin makes thee free."

There is no reference in any other source to any form of ceremony at this stage; but no doubt some short address may have been made corresponding to this, before the newly-entered Mason finally took his seat in the Lodge.

We have still to deal with the bulk of the secrets, and the question whether all, or if not, which, were communicated during the retirement from the Lodge. I think it extremely likely that a certain number of the test-questions may have been omitted, to be picked up by degrees by the Apprentice from his brethren, or from the 'Lectures' which were probably worked fairly frequently in Lodge, if not taught deliberately by the 'Intender.' But I can see no way of arriving at a solution of the question, as to which were thus treated as of little immediate importance, and which were (or may have been) selected to be communicated at once. I therefore propose to deal shortly with the whole series, arranging the material as conveniently as I can.

The question "Are you a Mason?" being answered in the affirmative, the Brother is asked, "How shall I know it?" There is very little variation

in the answer, which appears in *all* the catechisms; and includes 'signs, tokens, and the points of entry.' The 'first point of entry' is given by all but the Trin. Coll. Dublin MS. and the Grand Whimsey, and generally is "Heal (or hear) and conceal, under no less pain . . ." The Mason's Confession gives a progressive series of signs in place of the usual answer.

"What is a Mason?" is answered only by the prints and the Dumfries MS. No. 4. The latter gives:—

> "I was begotten of a man & born of a woman and besides have severall potentat kings & mighty princes to my brothers"

which is given in a simple form by the Grand Mystery. The Dumfries MS. also answers the question at a different place in the MS. with:—

> "He is a worker in stone"

while the Mason's Confession seems to take us back to an old operative jingle with:—

> "He's a mason that's a mason born, a mason sworn, and a mason by trade."

In reply to the question "What Lodge are you of?" three sources give the name of St. John, one that of St. Stephen, and one of Kilwinning. The Lodge, at the occasion of entry, is described as 'just and perfect' by four sources, one of which adds 'or just and lawful'; while one gives 'full and perfect,' and the Chetwode Crawley MS. says 'Honble.'

To the question "What makes a just and perfect Lodge?" various answers are given, and there appears to be no set form of answer. The following are given:—

7 masters, 5 apprentices—Chetwode Crawley.
2 apprentices, 2 fellow-crafts, 2 masters—Sloane 3329.
3 of each, as above—Trin. Coll., Dublin.
1 master, 2 wardens, 4 fellows, 5 apprentices, with square, compass, and common gudge—Mason's Exam.
God and the Square, with 5 or 7 right and perfect Masons—Grand Mystery.
5 fellow-crafts and 7 apprentices—Mason's Confession.

If the answer was in any way a test, I suggest that an odd number was to be given; for the Grand Mystery has the question:—

> "Why do odds make a Lodge?
> Because all odds are men's advantage."

The numbers were evidently intended to be symbolic, or, at any rate, conventional, for the Chetwode Crawley goes on:—

> "Does not less make a true perfect Lodge?
> 4 Masters, 3 Entred prentices, & the rest as formerly.
> Does no less?
> The more the merrier, and the fewer the better cheer,"

while the full answer in Sloane 3329 is:—

> "a just and perfect Lodge is two Interprintices two fellow craftes and two Mast^{rs}. more or fewer the more the merrier the fewer the Bett^{r}. Chear but if need require five will serve that is two Interprintices two fellow Craftes and one Mast^{r}."

The agreement, by the way, of these two *MSS.*, with no support from any printed version, on 'the more the merrier, &c.,' seems to suggest that that phrase may have been one of the test phrases to 'know a mason by.' The Mason's Confession has an answer worth comparing with the rest:—

"Who made you a mason?
God almighty's holy will made me a mason; the square, under God, made me a mason; nineteen fellow-crafts and thirteen entered prentices made me a mason."

The writer adds that the whole number present did not exceed twenty persons, "but so I was taught to answer, which I can give no reason for." He also adds the note, after giving the answer (already quoted) of 5 fellow-crafts and 7 apprentices:—

"N.B. They do not restrict themselves to this number, though they mention it in their form of questions, but will do the thing with fewer."

The question "Where ought a Lodge to be kept?" or its equivalent, yields an interesting series of answers. A typical specimen is that of the Sloane 3329:—

"on the highest hill or Lowest Valley of the world without the crow of a Cock or the bark of a Dogg."

The Mason's Examination and the Grand Whimsey substitute:—

"In the Valley of Jehoshaphat, behind a rush-bush,"

and the Chetwode Crawley has:—

"a day's Journey from a Borrows-Towne,"

while each includes the dog and the cock. The Mason's Confession adds:—

"or the turtle of a dove,"

and the Dumfries 4 gives what one cannot help regarding as the remains of an old jingle:—

"on the top of a mountain or in y[e] middle of a boge without the hearing of y[e] crowing of a cok or y[e] bark of a doge."

A tradition of meetings in the open air is preserved in the Aberdeen Bye-Laws of 1670[1]:—

"WEE ordaine lykwayes that no lodge be holden within a dwelling house wher ther is people living, in it but in the open fieldes except it be ill weather, and then Let ther be a house chosen that no person shall heir nor sie ws";

and this is also suggested by:—

"How high is your Lodge?
inches & spans Inumberable
how Inumberable?
the material heavens, & stary firmament" (Dumf. 4)

which is confirmed by another MS., the Trin. Coll., Dublin:—

"as high as y[e] stars inches & feet innumerable."

A number of questions deal with the 'ornaments,' etc., of the Craft, especially Lights, Jewels, and Pillars.

As to Lights, there is a general agreement that there were three, though some differences exist as to their meanings. Thus, according to Dumfries 4, there were three lights, one in the east for the master, one in the west for the fellow-craftsman, and one in the middle for the warden. The Sloane 3329, however, says:—

"Three, the sun, the mast[r] and the square,"

while the Mason's Examination says:—

"Three: The Master, Warden, and Fellows,"

[1] Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

and the Grand Mystery:—

> "Three; a Right East, South, and West,"

and makes them represent "The Three Persons, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

The Mason's Confession places them S.E., S., and S.W.; while the Chetwode Crawley has North East, South West, and Eastern passage, and makes them denote "the Master mason, the word (? *warden*), & the fellow craft."

In both the Dumfries and Sloane MSS. the question is asked again at another part of the series, and the answer is 'two'; but here again the explanations differ. The former has:—

> "Two . . . ye sun riseth in ye east & sets all men to work & sets in ye west & so turns all men to bed,"

and the latter:—

> "Two, one to see to go in and another to see to work."

Two sets of 'Jewels' are mentioned. The Mason's Examination and the Grand Mystery give respectively:

> The Square, Astler, Diamond, & Common Square, and
> The Square, Diamond, & Square Asher.

In the former case, the original form of the answer was clearly identical with the latter; and it is perhaps an indication of antiquity that the Jewels are actually quoted as *four*, not three. The same answer would doubtless have been given in the Grand Whimsey, which here agrees closely with the Mason's Examination, but that it leaves out one answer and question, and gives "Three: the Master, Warden, & Fellows."

The Sloane, Chetwode Crawley, and Mason's Confession give an entirely different set of three:—

Sloane 3329.	*Chetwode Crawley.*	*Mason's Confession.*
Square Pavement	Square Pavement	Square Pavement
Blazing Star	Perpendester	Dinted Ashler
Danty Tassely	Brobed-mall	Broached Dornal

The last-named source goes on to explain their purposes—the square pavement 'for the master-mason to draw his ground-draughts on'; the dinted ashler 'to adjust the Square, and make the gages by'; and the broached dornal 'for me, the younger and last entered prentice, to learn to broach upon.' The curious features of these lists have already been expertly dealt with by Bro. E. H. Dring,[1] and need not be further discussed.

The 'Pillars' are referred to in several of the documents; and in particular the two Pillars at the Porch of K.S.T. are mentioned and named in the Mason's Examination, the Grand Mystery, and the Grand Whimsey; while the Dumfries MS. No. 4 refers to the three pillars in the Lodge, which are "ye square the compas & ye bible."

A few more miscellaneous references to the form and furniture of the Lodge may be quoted. Thus, the Grand Mystery has:—

> "How many Angles in St. John's Lodge?
> Four, bordering on Squares."

The very next question and answer:—

> "How is the Meridian found out?
> When the Sun leaves the South, and breaks in at the West-End of the Lodge,"

seems to suggest that the idea of the Lodge was a sort of 'lean-to' with open ends.

[1] *A.Q.C.* xix.

Decidedly operative in character is the following from the Dumfries MS. No. 4:—

"what stands at the wardens back
3 shelves
what is y^r upon y^m
y^r is 3 Rulers
what is those
y^r is 36 foot 34 foot & 32 foot
what is y^m for
36 is for leveling 34 is for beveling & 32 for measuring ye earth about."

I can make nothing of the numbers.

The question "How many levels are there in your Lodge?" is answered in the Mason's Confession by:

"Three . . . The sun, and the sea, and the level."

The Key of the Lodge appears in most of the catechisms. It is described as a "well-hung tongue" by Chetwode Crawley and two of the printed sources; and as "the tongue of good report behind a Broth^{rs}. back as well as before his face" by the Sloane MS. alone. As to its whereabouts, two separate answers seem to have been run into one. The MS. sources mostly agree on a "box of bone"; which, when we find the prints agreeing on "an ivory box," seems to point to some antiquity. The prints, however, in several cases introduce further the "Key of the working Lodge," which lies "on the Right Hand from the Door two Foot and a-half under a Green Turf, and one Square" (Mason's Examination). In the MS. sources the *two* keys seem to have been confused; and we find:—

"they Ley in a bound Case or und^r: a three connerd pavem^t. about a foot and halfe from the Lodge door" (Sloane)

and:—

"In a box of bone within a foot & ½ of ye lodge door" (Trin. Coll., Dublin).

The Chetwode Crawley MS. separates the two answers, but draws no distinction betwee the keys:—

"Q. 13. Where shall I find the kye of your Lodge?
Ansr. Three and a half foots from the Lodge under the perpendester & a Green divot.

. . . .

Q. 16. Where lyes the Kye of your Lodge?
Ansr. In the Bone Box.

It is not easy to arrive at any exact original for either of the descriptions; but I suggest that the 'Bone Box' was a part of the symbolical teaching of what we should call the 'lectures' of the Lodge; while the other answer rather belonged to the category of test-questions: the 'turf' or 'divot' and the paving stone playing their parts, while the 'half-foot' had to be included. I mention the latter because it occurs in each answer. We find:—

1½ ft.—B.9 & 10.
2½ ft.—C.11, 16, & 20.
3½ ft.—B.8.

The printed versions add a chain, 'as long as from my tongue to my heart.'

This brings me to the problem of test-questions and test-phrases. In attempting just now to differentiate between these and what might be called 'ritual' questions, or lectures, I have to admit that I have followed my own preference, and have no definite reason or evidence for the arrangement. But it seems highly probable that both types of question existed, though to some extent they probably overlapped. If we examine the words introducing the

catechisms in the various sources, we find an indication of this difference. Thus:—

> "Some Questions that Masons use to put to those who profess to have the Mason-word, before they will acknowledge them" (Chetwode Crawley).

> "When you would enter a Lodge you must knock three times at the Door, and they'll challenge you . . ." (Mason's Examination).

> "Examination upon entrance into the Lodge" (Grand Mystery).

In the Grand Whimsey we find a note following one question:—

> "N.B. You shall know an Enter'd Apprentice by this Question,"

and the print contains several similar suggestions that the questions are tests; while the Mason's Confession contains such phrases as "one is taught to say"; "the prentice is taught to answer."

On the other hand, the Sloane 3329 has:—

> "Here followeth there private discourse By way of Question and Answer";

and later, where, apparently, the writer has introduced material from another source:—

> "In some places they discourse as followeth."

These point rather to a 'ritual' series of questions; though on the whole the series is in agreement with the rest of the sources. So far as there is any evidence on the subject, it would appear to suggest that the catechisms were, so to speak, used 'ritually'; and that all or any of them might be used as tests.

But there appear to have been other questions or phrases which existed solely as tests, or as means by which a Mason could make himself known to others, or ascertain if there were others in the company. Some of these are difficult to explain, while in one or two cases the purpose of the phrase is fairly clear.

In the Trin. Coll., Dublin, MS., the 'enterprentice's word' is given as "Boaz or its hollow." This alternative seems to have been fairly widely used, and to have been based on a North-country dialect word 'bose,' meaning hollow.[1] A reference to the use is found in the Sloane 3329 MS.:—

> "a free brother coming where free massons are at worke . . . if he takes one of their tooles or his own Staff and strike saftly on the wall or worke saying this is bose or hollow if their be any free broth^r^. at the work he will answ^r^. it is solid wch words are signes to discov^r^. each oth^r^."

Among the instructions given in the Mason's Confession, we find:—

> "If one should come to a mason working at a stone, and say, 'That stone lies boss,' the prentice is taught to answer, 'It is not so boss but it may be filled up again'; or, 'It is not so boss as your head would be if your harns[2] were out.'"

The intention of the alternative seems to have been as a sort of disguise for the word. A further reference to the same use is perhaps to be found in the Grand Mystery, among the "Signs to know a true Mason":—

> "7. Turn a Glass, or any other Thing that is hollow, downwards, after you have drunk out of it."

I suggest that a certain statement in our traditional history may have been lineally descended from this old use.

[1] See Halliwell, *Archaic & Provincial Dict.*
[2] = 'brains' (Halliwell, *op. cit.*).

The use of the 'kitchen' and the 'hall' to distinguish Apprentices from Fellows would seem to belong rather to the category of tests than 'ritual' questions. In the Chetwode Crawley MS. we have:—

> "I see yow have been in the Kitchin, but I know not if yow have been in the Hall?
> I have been in the Hall as well as the Kitchin."

The Grand Whimsey has:—

> "Q. Have you been in the Kitchen?
> N.B. You shall know an Enter'd Apprentice by this Question.
> A. Yes, I have.
> Q. Did you ever dine in the Hall?
> N.B. A Brother Mason by this Question.
> A. Yes, I did."

Whether, as Bro. Speth suggested in 1890,[1] this distinction is a true parallel to the 'Lodge and Chamber' of the Old Charges, I am not prepared to say.

Other phrases occur, for which I can find no explanation. The Dumfries MS. No. 4 has the questions:—

> "what is ye night good for
> ye night is better for hereing than seeing
> what is ye day good for
> ye day is bette for seeing than hearing";

and we find the same test-phrase, together with others for which I can suggest no explanation, in the Mason's Confession:—

> "If one coming into a company, wants to know whether there be a mason in the same; as he comes in, he makes himself to stumble, and says, 'The day's for seeing, and the night's for hearing; God be thanked we have all our formal mercies. There is no difference between a dun cow and a dun hummle cow.'"

We also find confirmation of the genuineness of this phrase as a test in the Trin. Coll., Dublin, MS.:—

> "To know in ye dark if there be a mason in Company, Say ye day was made for seeing, and ye night for hearing."

One or two other tests—action, not word—I will mention, the first being the use of the number *three*. According to the Mason's Confession, the Apprentice is taught, under certain circumstances, to knock at a door "three knocks; a lesser, a more, and a more." The Mason's Examination has the following:—

> "To call a Mason out from among company, you must cough three times, or knock against any thing three times."

Among the miscellaneous ways given by the Sloane MS. for discovering a Brother we find:—

> "if it be night or dark they will give two Little haughts and a great one as if they were forceing a bone or a lump out of their throat, they will say ye day is for seeing the night for hereing."

The same MS. has the following:—

> "Another signe is by taking their handk^{r}: in their right hand and blow their nose then holding it Straight out before them they give it two Little shakes and a big one."

Another example, in which we find an agreement of great value—between the Trinity College, Dublin, MS. and the Mason's Confession—takes the form of a drinking sign. The former has:—

[1] *A.Q.C.* iii. 28.

> "If you are amongst the fraternity, & they drink to you, turn ye top of the glass down and if after two or three times so doing, they say drink & i'll warrant you, then they will pay your clubb"

which agrees very remarkably with the Mason's Confession:—

> "To find another by drinking, one says, 'Drink.' The other answers, 'No.' He saith the second time, 'Drink.' The other answers, 'After you is good manners.'. Again he saith, 'Drink; I warrant you.' And then he takes it."

The last example I will quote appears in four of the sources. The Mason's Examination reads:—

> "A Mason, to show his Necessity, throws down a round Piece of Slate, and says, Can you change this Coin?"

This is confirmed by the Trinity College, Dublin, MS. and the Sloane. The former has:—

> "if you say ye Squire is lean, or throw a tobacco stopper to one of them & say change me y^t groat, & they will pay your club"

and the latter:—

> "And to lett you know he wants money he will hold a bitt of a pipe (or some such thing) to you saying can you change a cole pence?"

This sign is clearly referred to in the Grand Mystery:—

> "Q. Are you Rich, or Poor? A. Neither.
> Q. Change me that? A. I will."

If there is any doubt that this refers to the same sign, it is set at rest by the later 'Institution,' which has:—

> "Q. Change me that ⊗ ?"

Two further points on which we would be glad to get information are the preparation (if any) of the Candidate, and the form and arrangement of the Lodge. I have attempted to collect all the available information on these subjects; but I have to admit that it does not take us very far.

The only MS. source which gives any hint as to the preparation of the Candidate is, unfortunately, the latest of all—the Dumfries 4, which is probably not earlier than 1722. From this source we gather that the cable-tow was used:—

> "How were you brought in
> Shamefully wt a rope about my neck
> . . . . . .
> Whay a rope about your neck
> To hang me If I should Betray my trust"

Other details can be gleaned from the printed versions. Thus, according to the Grand Whimsey:—

> "a Man with a drawn Sword asked me, If I had any Weapons. I answered No";

and the writer also states:—

> "they made me kneel bare-kneed."

Both these details are amplified in the Mason's Confession:—

> "After one comes in at the door, he that keeps the door, called the *warden*, looses the garter of his right leg stocking, rools down the stocking, folds up the knee of the breeches, and requires him to deliver up any metal thing he has upon him."

This is all that can be gathered. The Mason's Examination refers to the Candidate being blindfolded, but this seems to have taken place *after* the oath. The only other hint given by this source is the jingle repeated by the Candidate during his perambulation:—

> "I fain would a Fellow-Mason be,
> As all your Worships may plainly see,"

which rather suggests that the Candidate's appearance was not quite normal. With these few remarks we must be content; and there is nothing to show whether the preparations described were in use before 1717 or not.

As to the arrangement of the Lodge room, the descriptions of the ritual give us practically no help. The Mason's Confession gives just a hint:—

> "To be particular in showing how the master-mason stands at the south-east corner of the lodge, and the fellow-crafts next to him, and next to them the wardens, and next the entered prentices, and how their sieges stand distant one from another, and the tools they work with, is not worth while."

Various other places are assigned to the Brethren and Officers in other documents. Thus, according to the Sloane:—

> "The east place is the Master place in the Lodge and the Jewell resteth on him first and he setteth men to worke; wt the masters have in the foornoon the wardens reap in the afternoon";

while, to the question, "Where sits ye master?" the Trin. Coll., Dublin, MS. answers:—

> "In a Chair of bone in ye middle of a four square pavement.
> W^t^ sits he there for?
> To observe the suns rising to see to set his men to work"

(which, parenthetically, is worth comparing with the Dumfries:—

> "Where layes ye master
> In a stone trough under ye west wind looking to ye east waiting for ye son rising to sett his men to work").

The Mason's Examination has the following:—

> "How do Masons take Place in Work?
> The Master S.E., the Wardens, N.E., and the Fellows Eastern Passage,"

which is given almost verbatim in the Grand Whimsey, except that both Master and Wardens are placed in the East. A further variety is that of the Grand Mystery:—

> "Where is the Mason's Point?
> At the East-Window, waiting at the Rising of the Sun, to set his Men at Work.
> Where is the Warden's Point?
> At the West-Window, waiting the Setting of the Sun, to dismiss the Entred Apprentices."

Two diagrams are to be found among our sources. One, in the Mason's Confession (which has already been referred to), shows the way in which the Apprentice takes three 'ritual' steps towards the Master, while the "fellow-crafts, with the wardens and entered prentices" are on the Master's left hand. The other, the much-discussed figure in the Tho. Carmick MS., shows the 'Warden' in the east, and the 'Enter Prentice' in the west with the 'Master' on his right and the 'Fellow Craft' on his left. We have, still further, the description given in the Grand Whimsey of the passage of the Candidate "Thro' two Rows of ye Brotherhood . . . to the upper End of ye Room, from whence ye Master went down ye Outside of one of ye Rows . . . &c."

Taking all these into account, and bearing in mind that the bulk of the information is from symbolical test questions and not ritual directions, we can get little more than the probability that the Master (or ruler of the Lodge) was in the East—perhaps towards the South-East; and the Warden or Wardens were in the West, or perhaps South; and that these positions were based on *ancient traditional* duties of opening at sunrise and closing at sunset. The Brethren were, no doubt, seated along the sides of the Lodge, or perhaps only along the South side; and very likely, as indicated in the Grand Whimsey, stood up in two rows facing inwards at the reception of a Candidate.

Before closing, I must revert to the vexed question of 'degrees.' I have put this question on one side while dealing with my material; but it cannot be left there, though I do not propose to enter upon it now. I wish merely to throw out a suggestion, which I do not think has ever been emphasized, that in my own opinion it is tied up with the question of 'operative' and 'speculative'; and that two 'degrees,' though not the *same* degrees, may have been worked by each; and that the operative 'fellow' corresponded in some way with the speculative 'master-mason'; while possibly, as I have hinted earlier, the *two* operative degrees were communicated at once to the speculative. Along such lines, I believe, the solution to the question must be searched for.

I hope I have brought forward sufficient evidence for a basis, however flimsy, on which we may be able to build up a knowledge of the ritual of our Brethren before Grand Lodge times. I am quite prepared to find that most, if not all, of my conclusions will be challenged; but if I have satisfied anyone of the possibility of achieving what I set out to do, or attracted others to the pursuit of the same object, I shall feel that the purpose of this paper has been effected.

APPENDIX.

Table showing location of sources used in the paper; and the more accessible reproductions:—

A.	1	Grand Lodge.	*Q.C.A.* vi.
	2	Grand Lodge.	Gould, *Hist.* i., p. 93.
	3	Bedford Lodge.	*Freemasons' Chronicle*, 30th Dec., 1922.
	4	Haughfoot Lodge.	Given in full in discussion of B.8.
	5	Dumfries.	*A.Q.C.* vi.
	6	America.	*A.Q.C.* xxii.
B.	7	British Museum.	Hughan, *Mas. Sk. & Rep.*, Part II., p. 46.
	8	Grand Lodge, Ireland.	not reproduced.
	9	British Museum.	Findel, *Hist.* (1869), p. 666.
	10	Trin. Coll., Dublin.	not reproduced.
C.	11		Gould, *Hist.* iii., p. 487.
	12		Gould, *Hist.* iii., p. 476.
	13		*Masonic Record* iii.
	14		never reproduced.
	15		,, ,,
	16	Unique copy in Bodleian.	not reproduced.
	17, 18, 19		I have seen several photographic and printed facsimiles of these; but not in any printed work.
	20		not reproduced.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Poole for his interesting paper, on the proposition of Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins, seconded by Bro. J. Heron Lepper. Comments were offered by or on behalf of Bros. R. I. Clegg, Rev. H. G. Rosedale, J. Walter Hobbs, B. H. Springett, Geo. W. Bullamore, H. Lovegrove, G. W. Daynes, W. J. Songhurst, R. J. Meekren, John Stokes, R. H. Baxter, and G. C. Shadwell.

Bro. J. Heron Lepper said:—

It gives me much pleasure to second this vote of thanks and I should like to add my congratulations to Bro. Poole on the handsome way in which he has handselled his full membership of the Lodge.

The essay we have just heard has been prepared with such erudition and care that any criticism but the appreciative kind is impossible. The best one can do is to go searching through to find some detached passages whereon to offer what may be further illustration. Such opportunities have not presented themselves to me in more than one or two instances.

One conclusion I think we may safely draw from the essay: that Masonic practices prior to 1730 varied quite as much as they do now in different districts. In some of these rituals mentioned this evening we get signs of only one degree; in others of several; in others of the degrees being "telescoped," to use Bro. Poole's own happy phrase. This, after all, is just what we might expect. I do not see how there could have been, at this period, anything like a settled form of words or procedure common to far-distant districts; indeed, I think it is rather surprising that we do find such an amazing correspondence in what was supposed never to be written, the Freemason's signs and words. The very divergencies of the various manuscripts argue, to my mind, a great antiquity for the practices they profess to describe, and these divergencies are strong evidence against what used to be the popular theory, that Freemasonry was an invention of the seventeenth century at earliest.

Perhaps it may not be time altogether wasted to draw some illustrations of these primitive rituals from existing rites in another Constitution, though it is obvious that whatever I submit for your consideration in that way can be by word of mouth in open Lodge only.

> [Seven points in which the existing Irish Rite illustrates the language used in the primitive rituals.]

In regard to the existing divergencies between English and Irish practice, I have been for some time past inclining to the opinion that these must have come about long prior to 1730, the date usually assigned as marking the beginning of all variations in the form of later Freemasonry, and I think the passages to which I have just referred are evidence in support of the theory which has forced itself upon me.

Such divergencies are inevitable, but I also hold that the Irish are merely survivals of ancient English practices, just as the Irish accent is the survival of the true tongue of Raleigh and Swift.

As a further illustration to the text of the essay, may I give you a reminder of an early allusion to the clothing in yellow jacket and blue breeches in 1725, from the inspired report of the proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Ireland in that year?

> "The Brethren of one Lodge wore fine Badges painted full of Crosses and Squares, with the Motto *Spes mea in Deo est*. Which was no doubt very significant, for the Master of it wore a Yellow Jacket and Blue Britches."
>
> (*The Dublin Weekly Journal*, Saturday, 26th June, 1725.)

I have only one further note to offer, and that is in regard to holding Lodges in the open air. There is a curious passage from Rabelais which goes

to carry one of the expressions used in these primitive rituals back to the middle of the sixteenth century, at least:—

> ". . . une region en laquelle n'est ouy des coqs le chant. Car voulans denoter quelque lieu a l'escart et peu frequenté, ainsi disons nous en iceluy n'avoir onques esté ouy coq chantant."

> ". . . a region in which the song of a cock was never heard. For when we want to denote some remote and little frequented place, we say that the song of a cock was never heard in it."

Let me add to this that the many old non-regular Lodges of Freemasons that continued to meet in the north of Ireland up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, without ever taking out a Warrant from the Grand Lodge, were known to the regular Brethren by the contemptuous term of "Hedge Masons"; while the expression itself can be further illustrated by a passage from an Orange ritual of 1801, which states: "You shall not be at the making of a man, or men, *behind a hedge*": thus giving us a reason for the term and a glimpse of how secrecy was achieved by certain primitive societies, in default of a properly tyled apartment, when wishing to escape from the insatiable curiosity of the quidnuncs of a country village or town.

Bro. R. I. Clegg said:—

The excellent paper read by Bro. Poole is unusually stimulating for several reasons. While it is confined, in the main, to a consideration of information of the vintage of the early part of the eighteenth century, and the matter that has been worked over has so far been deemed uninspiring and very limited for Bro. Poole's purpose, yet he has managed to squeeze out of an almost dry well many points that will be of very great value and inspiration for investigators of the present and the future. So unpromising was the source of information that we must cheerfully accord to the author our hearty congratulations upon the success with which he has made discoveries and certainly for the systematic manner in which he has placed the result of his investigation before us.

Most of his conclusions are of such a kind as to invite unalloyed acceptance. This is due to the care and the sound common sense with which he has assembled his facts. Here and there he suggests, as he has every right to do, inviting avenues for speculation. One of these occurs towards the close of his paper, where he throws out a suggestion that two Degrees, though not the same Degrees, may have been worked by Operative and Speculative, and that the Operative Fellow corresponded in some way with the Speculative Master Mason, while possibly the two Operative Degrees were communicated at once to the Speculator.

I am not without hope that later research may develop some such result, but I should be inclined to suppose that the ceremonies of that early date were somewhat crude, and that in various sections and remote localities they followed a pattern by no means uniform. Perhaps I may venture to add a suggestion or two, relative to sources of informaton which have been, in my humble opinion, somewhat neglected. First of all, there are the early ceremonies of the Church and particularly those spectacles which have been associated with the period of Easter. I need scarcely remind my Brethren that Freemasonry is peculiar in at least this respect, that its ceremonies suggest a loss, a search, and a discovery. There is the sorrow that becomes a joy; there is the death that turns into resurrection. Many attempts have been made to discover the true source, for example, of the 3rd Degree, but in the Christian Church there has been exhibited something quite of a family resemblance and especially applicable to the Easter time in showing as a pageant the search for the Master and then the illumination wrought by His Resurrection.

An interesting example of what I am here attempting to point out is given by Moss in the introduction to his edition of "Everyman." He recounts that centuries ago, at Easter time, a representation was given in the Church of a search for the missing Master; that the evergreen was used at the grave; and that some of the linen clothes used at the tomb were brought back as evidence of the discovery. These are somewhat significant and, I dare say, may be paralleled by many other instances equally striking. Tunnison, in his book on the Dramatic Traditions of the Dark Ages, published by the University of Chicago, gives many examples of plays presented by craftsmen for hundreds of years in the Near East. He has gone very carefully through the literature of Rome, Greece and Turkey, and many of his observations indicate how much we may gather when we have the benefit of someone like Bro. Poole to classify and thoroughly utilise this sort of information.

Within recent times, Professor Carl Young, of the University of Wisconsin, has dealt in a paper, published by the Modern Language Association of the United States, with the dialogues used in the Early Christian Church. He has made a classification of these, and, while the latter is not so pertinent as the other instances I have mentioned, yet it shows that there is even here a field which may be tilled in reference to the essential peculiarities of representing in simplest dramatic form the principles of religion. Tied up as these undoubtedly have been with the Craft plays of years gone by, we have some little ground, I am sure, for a study that ought not to be passed over negligently. Throughout the ages there has been flourishing a lively recognition of these fundamental facts that are the basis of modern Freemasonry. We may not find its origin in any one place, but I am sure that we can be confident that, filling as it does a decided want in the experience of mankind, we shall be justified in seeking its source in a psychological basis. We cannot, I am certain, move forward in any such research without a sense of deep thankfulness for the pioneer work of just such brothers as Bro. Poole himself.

Bro. JOHN STOKES said:—

This is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of an interesting subject. The author is to be congratulated upon his industry in gathering together the scattered threads. I think that he is quite correct in his opinion that we can learn much about the old ritual from a careful study of contemporary "disclosures," and also that it is possible to deduce a fairly accurate ritual from a comparative study of the Old Charges.

I must confess, however, to a feeling of regret that the issue has been narrowed down so as to give the impression that all ritual before 1717 should be looked upon as an initial form from which our later ritual has been derived. It is necessary to make a complete research into the subject over the whole period during which Masons were known to have assembled by means of Lodges. The enquiry should begin with the Fabric Rolls and Cathedral Accounts, proceeding on to the Gild Ordinances (Merchant as well as Religious), and the comparison of these with those of the Craft.

From this it is probable that sufficient evidence would be obtained to enable some idea to be formed of the practice of a definite though limited ritual, which seems to have been the case, from which a later ritual was evolved.

It must be remembered that when the apprenticeship was for seven years, the age at which this began (say fourteen or thereabouts) would necessitate the exaction of a very simple oath or more probably nothing beyond a simple promise of secrecy. In proportion as the Operative Lodges became infiltrated with non-operative members so would increase the tendency towards elaboration of form and symbolism.

In the examination of the Old Charges in their original documents, it is obvious that certain portions show signs of constant use, while other portions remain fresh and unsoiled. It does appear that the used portions must have

been used as a sort of ritual. Furthermore, whenever Masons were assembled at the building of a church, the religious character of their ordinances, the presence of the clergy, the custom of the period, would all tend towards the adoption of some form of ceremonial ritual, not only at the admission of apprentices, but also at the official meetings.

Especially is this the case in the records of the Scottish Lodges, *e.g.*, St. Mary's Chapel No. 1. What took place in Scotland probably found its parallel in England in the growth of ritual, even though our earliest records are later by a hundred years.

The question of ritual may advantageously be divided into three definite sections:—

1 The Gild period;
2 The Operative period;
3 The Speculative period.

From these comes the gradual growth of ritual as more and more non-Masons were admitted, but the probability is great that the ritual in actual use in 1717 was mainly operative, and that it was not until some ten years later that a more or less consistent and logically continuous ritual was established.

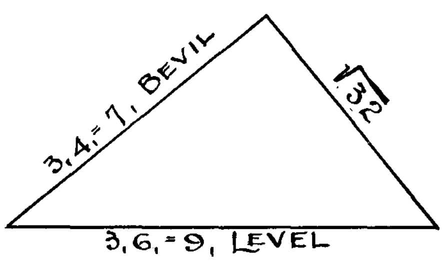
Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter *writes*:—

I am naturally pleased that Bro. Poole should have followed up my own theory as to the origin of our ritual by accepting passages from the Old Charges as having a bearing on the question.

Much caution is required in writing on such a subject. Doubtless a good deal could be said in a tyled Lodge which it would not be advisable to print. I am, therefore, sorry I could not be present to hear the paper read. Foremost in this connection, perhaps, would be the relation of the Hiramic legend to the traditions associated with many of our mediæval structures in relation to the death of the chief builder or principal architect. I prefer to leave the subject, for the time being at least, with this passing allusion.

No notice seems to have been taken of the paragraph, just preceding the oath, printed on page 667 of the English translation of Findel's *History of Freemasonry*, giving "An English Mason's Examination" as Appendix C. It is certainly of great significance.

The problem of the three rods quoted from the Dumfries-Kilwinning MS., No. 4, is intriguing. I always assume in matters of this kind that there is some sort of cryptic allusion to a geometric solution, and, as the construction of a right angle was a matter of importance to an Operative Mason, I have looked at the matter from this point of view. As the figures stand 36, 34 and 32 feet I can make nothing of them, but assuming that we take the first to mean 3, 6,=9; the second 3, 4,=7; and the third as a measuring about, *i.e.*, a superficial measurement, we can construct a right angled triangle as in the following diagram:—



The sum of the squares on the two sides would then be 49+32=81, which would, of course, be equal to the square on the hypotenuse; 9×9=81.

There are many other points in the paper which could adequately be commented on, but they have probably been dealt with by other Brethren who had the privilege of being present.

Bro. R. J. MEEKREN said:—

It has been with great interest and not a little gratification that I have heard Bro. Poole's paper, because I find myself so completely in agreement, not only with his conclusions, but also in his estimate of the evidence. A first-hand examination and comparison of such early catechisms, complete or fragmentary, cannot fail, so it seems to me, to impress one with their archaic character. Though so many of them come through such doubtful channels, yet they bear the stamp of being genuine, of being what they profess to be. But the writer of the paper has set this argument forth so clearly that there is little need to attempt to re-inforce it. In one point, however, I would like to add a word. I do most strongly feel that the argument from silence, always in any case a notoriously dangerous one, is peculiarly risky in estimating the value, which so often means the date, of these documents or their originals. I cannot help feeling that much of the supposed Scottish flavour of some of them is at bottom built on a foundation of silence, and though at first I accepted the opinion in deference to weighty authority, I have been growing more and more uncertain about it. With the conclusion that these documents "throw more light on the ritual of the pre-Grand Lodge period than they do on the development of the ritual in the subsequent decade" I most heartily concur. They are obviously traditional, and show only the very slightest traces, if any at all, of that process of expansion and 'improvement' which we know actually came about.

I am inclined to think that, even within the limits laid down in the paper, the letter from France printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* might have been included in the evidence, for, though published seven years later than the limiting date, 1730, the description of the ceremony shows no sign of any development, and is closely parallel to those in the 'Examination,' 'Confession' and 'Mystery of F.M.'s' (which I understand is a reprint of the 'Grand Whimsey,' a document I have not yet seen). In this letter a rather full description of the preparation is given. There is a perambulation three times round the room, and the Candidate is brought up to the Master in three pauses. A diagram is mentioned, of rather peculiar character. Also there is a trace of horse-play in that gunpowder and rosin are thrown on the candles to frighten the Candidate. He is also brought to light before the O.B., which agrees with the 'Examination' account, though the method is more modern.

The suggestion of horse-play seems to me a very valuable one, and is an interpretation that seems most obvious when made; yet I must confess it never occurred to me before. It is really most likely that something of the sort was an original part of the initiation, and one, too, that may frequently have been toned down or omitted altogether at the entering or adopting of an honorary or speculative member in a Lodge of operative character. One consideration which goes to add to the weight of the evidence occurs to me by the way. It was not mentioned by the writer of the paper, though, of course, he must be familiar with it: that the 'Mystery of Freemasons' (so, naturally, the 'Grand Whimsey' also) expressly notes that one of those present in forming the Lodge must be a working Mason.

I have myself thought, for some time past, that there was probably 'telescoping' in the ceremonies during the transition from the purely operative period to the largely speculative character of the institution in 1717. A good many indications would appear to point to the ceremonies having come to be more and more of the nature of a 'survival' during, say, the latter part of the seventeenth century. It has been said of folk customs and ritual that a

survival is always easily distinguished from a *revival* by the perfunctory and slipshod way in which it is carried out by uninterested participants. If my memory is not entirely at fault, there is something that might throw light on the question here in the Orders of the old Swalwell Lodge, where, I think, it is ordered that a Mason who takes an apprentice must enter him, or make him free (I forget the exact term used) within a certain period. But I should myself be inclined to think that the 'Catechisms' are almost sufficient evidence to prove that more than reading the legend of the Craft and the charges was always included in the ceremony.

The principle (if there be one) by which a 'test question' can be differentiated from a 'ritual' one is not easy to discover. In general they do fall in a class by themselves, just as on the whole one can in practice easily distinguish between accepted use in language and slang. Yet the language grows by accepting slang, and there is always an ill-defined frontier group. Because a question partakes of the nature of a riddle, is not, in my opinion, a criterion. I am inclined to think that enigmatic answers and statements are even more archaic, represent an earlier stage in evolution, than the doggerel jingles and rhymes that seem to have once been in vogue. The "neither naked nor clad, bare foot or shod, neither standing nor lying," is an instance of what I mean, and many others will naturally suggest themselves. Catch questions and phrases can always be made up; while, on the other hand, any part of the ritual can be used as a test. One may note the practice in America still in vogue as to learning the lectures.

I do not quite follow the point about what seems the evident mistake in the 'Examination' version of the jewels of separating the epithet 'square' from the substantive 'asher' and so making a fourth jewel is a mark of antiquity. It would be a 'speculative,' not an 'operative,' Mason who would make the mistake, and the prefixing the number I should take to be a later step. This same catechism has also made six points of fellowship out of the five that all other versions give that mention them at all.

The three rules mentioned by the Dumfries MS. No. 4 are very curious. As actual tools they are of quite impracticable length, nor are the uses very clear. If the digits are added we get the sequence 9—7—5; but that this is what was intended I should not care to say.

Whether the Trin. Coll. MS. question, "Where sits the Master?" is really in reference to the Master's station in the Lodge I am inclined to doubt. I should be inclined to class it with the "Master's blue coat & yellow breeches" that is met so frequently elsewhere. I should interpret it as the Compass in the Candidate's hand when taking the O.B.; and the pavement might well be the square on the ground, or possibly the book (but less likely, I think), or the diagram of the Lodge. The Dumfries version is not so obvious, though again the term 'layes' makes me think the utterance may refer to the compass. It is certainly enigmatic.

The use of the curious term 'eastern passage' is another link connecting the 'Examination' with the Chetwode-Crawley MS.

Among the various modes given for discovering a Freemason the writer of the paper has noted those which use the number three, and those which emphasize the idea of hollowness. This latter, becomes much more obvious in the light of the dialect word "bose," which is new to me. I was not able to make it out in the Sloane MS., but read it as 'lose' or 'loose." Others of these signs seem to depend on emphasizing the left side, and others again consist in somehow making a square. The use of a piece of paper cut square to show necessity (Sloane MS.) is very curious, and seems to have been used much later in Scotland according to information given by an old Scottish Brother some years ago.

The writer of the paper expressly omitted Prichard from the evidence, which I rather regret, though I fully appreciate his reasons. A line had to be drawn somewhere. However, as the subject of degrees was touched on, and as I, personally, am quite convinced that the essentials of what is now the third

degree were in existence long before the Grand Lodge era, I am going to venture to stray a little beyond the limit laid down in the paper; because, otherwise, I think, the picture is incomplete.

First, I would like to point out what appear to have been the chief factors in the *expansion* (as differentiated from the *evolution*) of the ritual. The greater bulk of the expansions are simply elaborate explanations and moralisings. But the actual formula of the ritual, or, rather, of the catechisms, is also enlarged by sub-division. The 'Mason's Examination' gives an account of the ceremonies, in synoptic narrative form. In Prichard, for example, a very similar ceremony is described in detail, in catechetical form. Eliminate this from his E.A. Degree and there is left a catechism very like those we have been considering. There was yet another process, I believe, which was the making of composite catechisms out of variant versions, retaining everything in each that was not obviously identical. As a matter of fact, Prichard's Second Degree is very little more than a partial version of the matter of the First Degree put into doggerel verse. What is not in the first is found in the other catechisms (with a few exceptions) to which has been prefaced a couple of questions and answers appropriate to a Second Degree. If, then, the F.C. part in Prichard is a double of the E.A., we really have the material of the original Mason's Catechism, with the Fellow's or Master's part which is so often alluded to in the other documents. In the 'Mystery of F.M.'s' there is an almost apologetic note which might be taken as deprecating the incompleteness of the document, by asserting that few Masons passed the Master's part.

This leads me to make a final remark on the original tradition. The idea, alluded to in the paper, that at some time in the past there was an original authorized ritual seems to me inherently improbable. I should conceive that probability pointed to many lines of tradition which always varied, yet never varied enough to make fraternal communication impossible, and that the changes were, in every line of tradition, all in the same direction, seeing that they would all be influenced by changes in the social environment, and kept in touch by travelling members of what has always been a migratory occupation. This would account both for differences and for startling parallels in phraseology. Later these varying traditions would be attracted to one or other of the two opposite poles of 'Modern' and 'Antient,' after which local evolution would become a much less important factor.

In conclusion, I must say again how much the paper has interested me, and I hope that, later on, we may have further contributions on the subject from Bro. Poole.

Bro. W. J. Songhurst *writes*:—

Bro. Poole mentions that, in considering the score of documents on which his paper is based, he has "made no attempt to separate operative from speculative, if any difference existed," but he has "a feeling that it was the speculative element in the Craft which led to the written ritual." In the case of *The Mason's Confession*, where an operative working might have been suspected, Bro. Poole has made a careful comparison with the other documents and comes to the conclusion that probably there was no real difference between operative and speculative practice.

My own feeling is that none of the documents can represent *official* operative usage. The Operative Apprentice was usually bound to his Master for seven years or such other period as would terminate when he was twenty-one years of age, and, therefore, we have to bear in mind that in the majority of cases he was bound when a mere child of fourteen years. We may also take it that he was lodged in his Master's house, and so became more or less one of the family. Although the Apprentice Charges only appear in late copies of the 'Old Charges,' it is hard to conceive the possibility that at any time the Apprentice was not bound, by himself or through his sureties, to do his best to

learn his trade, to keep his Master's trade and home secrets, to avoid bad company, to behave in a proper manner in the house as well as in the workshop, and generally to act so as to bring no discredit upon himself, his Master or his trade.

It is, I think, quite clear that for the purpose of such appenticeship no particular ceremony was *essential* in order to make the conditions binding. The parties to the agreement could sign at any time and anywhere. But there is a possibility that the boy was required to take an obligation of fidelity before witnesses, and this might, perhaps, have been done in the workshop, in the presence of those amongst whom his days were thereafter to be spent. Even so, one cannot realize the *necessity* for the Master to sit in any particular part of the workshop, nor for perambulations, nor for a formal introduction of the Apprentice to his Master, nor, in fact, for any of the ceremonial which is described in the various catechisms cited. In particular, it would surely have been laughable if this fourteen year old child had been announced as "A Gentleman who desires to be admitted a Member of the Society," or if he had walked round the room saying to each one present: "I fain would a Fellow Mason be, as all your Worships may plainly see." Nor can one understand the *necessity* for any secrets or tests of recognition being then communicated to him, for, as Bro. Poole points out, he would not be allowed to go away from his Master's control, and in his own Workshop or Lodge he would be well known.

At the end of his apprenticeship, when for the first time the young man became 'free,' this freedom could be effected by the return to him of his 'Articles' which until then had remained in his Master's custody, and again I suggest that the practical *necessity* for any ceremony on the occasion is not evident. Yet we may imagine his fellow workmen being called together as witnesses of the freedom, and if the youth had then the intention of taking employment elsewhere, some secrets might have been communicated to him so as to enable him to test and be tested other than by actual exhibition of his handiwork.

When we look at the matter from the point of view of the Guild there still seeems to be no real *necessity* for any ceremony such as is indicated in the Catechisms. It is true that in the London Company of Masons the Apprenticeship and Freedom were both registered, and fees were paid therefor, and no doubt the same procedure was adopted in the Local Guilds, but there does not seem to have been any direct connexion between the London and Provincial Companies, except that all appear to have used the Arms which had been granted in 1472 to London alone.[1] Yet without some central authority it is hard to see how 'tests' could have been arranged which could be recognised all over the British Isles, or even how a Traditional History could have been evolved such as is common to all versions of the 'Old Charges.' In only one material point does this History differ. While most of the documents bring Masonry to England in the time of Charles Martel, a certain section makes the introduction due to Saint Augustine, and this appears to mark a definite break in transmission.

If, however, we accept the 'Old Charges' as genuine relics of Guild practice, whether local or central, we must also accept the evidence they contain of a simple and solemn ceremony at the time of apprenticeship or registration. This ceremony would appear to have comprised a Prayer, the reading of the Legendary History of the Craft or Guild and the Charges, and an Oath of Fidelity by the Candidate, who stood or knelt with his hand upon the Gospels. Surely nothing further would be required, and I suggest that Bro. Poole should consider whether there is really any connexion whatever between the 'Old Charges' and the Catechisms to which he has drawn our attention. Is it likely, for example, that the Master of the Guild or the Master of Work would indulge in "a thousand ridiculous postures and grimaces," or take part in any ceremony which would have the avowed effect of frightening the Apprentice? It should be noted that the various tests communicated to him seem to be for the purpose of finding someone to pay his Club, and not to enable him to obtain work.

[1] Conder, *Hole Crafte*, p. 90.

Is it possible that these absurd practices were part of a ceremony of admission into a Workmen's Association, arranged by the men themselves, with, perhaps, the foreman taking the lead? I believe that such a form of rough horse-play is not entirely unknown in some workshops at the present day, and we may, perhaps, compare the ceremonies adopted by Seamen in the introduction to Father Neptune of voyagers when they first 'cross the line.'

It will be remembered that in the early By-Laws of the Lodge at the Maid's Head, Norwich, which were said to have been recommended by Dr. Desaguliers, it is laid down "That no ridiculous trick be play'd with any person when he is admitted." Whether this is in favour of my suggestion, or against it, I leave others to decide, but the particular Catechism from which, in 1730, "Grand Lodge saw some real danger to the interests of the Craft," contains no mention of ridiculous tricks.

A small point may be noted, although, possibly, it has no real value. With one exception the Catechisms referred to in the paper do not use the word *Company*, but the Candidate is anxious to be received into the *Society*. This may be of some importance when one remembers the Society which existed within the London Company during the whole of the seventeenth century, and probably earlier, and was ready to admit men who were not otherwise connected with the trade of Masonry. The exception is the Chetwode Crawley MS., which is undoubtedly of Scottish origin, and the word seems to be used therein in the sense of a number of persons then assembled together, rather than in the special sense of a particular organisation.

Bro. J. Walter Hobbs said:—

In this very interesting and valuable paper Bro. Poole has attempted a difficult task, but he has, I think, made as much from the selected materials as can be done at present.

My view is that the paper forms the commencement of what should be a much more detailed investigation before mere criticism of results should be made. Bro. Poole does not make a high claim at the moment, and if the subject is to be further investigated we should endeavour to see how more evidence can be obtained than has at the moment been utilized. Such a further investigation would, I have no doubt, be most important and interesting in its results, especially if conducted by several Brethren in active collaboration with Bro. Poole, so that different aspects of the subject could be dealt with by each Brother taking part, for I know well how difficult it is for Brethren who are actively engaged in professional and other pursuits to devote time to deal adequately with all the ramifications of such an enquiry as that involved in the subject before us.

Let me illustrate the point I am making. Bro. Vibert, in his Inaugural Address to this Lodge, dealt with the effect of contemporary events on Masonry. This I found, on following up the idea, to be a most interesting pursuit, so much so that its fascination often tempted one from following the line laid down. More than a year ago I was considering the Ritual disclosed in the Old MSS. (on which, by the way, I came to the same conclusion as Bro. Poole has done, except that I do not regard the forms disclosed as Ritual properly so-called, but this is not material here), and on the point of the evolution of the O.B. I looked up the subject of Oaths as used in the Law and other places of authority. Now you will see that Bro. Poole compares the O.B. in (2) The Buchanan MS., dating about the second half of the seventeenth century, with the O.B. in the Sloane MS., dating as early eighteenth century. The substantial additions in the latter are the words "without any manner of Equivocation or mentall reservation." Now the earliest instance of the importation of these words, or words of similar import, into an existing form of Oath which I was then able to find was the Sovereign's Accession Oath as revised by Parliament for use on

the Accession of James II. (he succeeded 1685), and this has an important bearing on the dates and evidential values of the two MSS.

I do not think it needful to elaborate the point or to multiply examples. If the subject is dealt with in two parts, i.e., pre-1717, and 1717-30, each will be assisted by further investigation in which contemporary history and events should bear a part. It will be clear, I think, that if some of the extraneous research is done by others and placed at Bro. Poole's disposal and under his direction, he will be in a position to follow his own particular line with greater freedom and with much more material than if he works unaided.

Whatever the resnlt as to Ritual during the periods under review, it will, I doubt not, lead to a greater interest being taken in the Old MSS. and the many questions which arise thereon. These are too little known even among studious Masons than they should be (I do not refer to members of the Lodge), while to many of the Brethren at large the subject is a closed book. Such papers as the one before us may well open an era of enquiry and study into the past Records of the pre-1717 Masonry which cannot fail to be of the greatest value to all concerned.

I should like to add my personal thanks to Bro. Poole and to assure him that any assistance I can afford him in his further researches will be at his disposal.

Bro. Gilbert W. Daynes *writes*:—

All Masonic students must, I am sure, be most grateful to Bro. Poole for systematically dealing with those rituals, exposures and catechisms which form the basis of his paper. Many of these are closed books to the average student, and, even now, two of these exposures—"The Whole Institutions of Freemasons Opened" (1725) and "The Grand Mystery laid open" (1726)—have escaped the vigilance of Bro. Poole, and the present whereabouts of the only known copies of these two works have not been discovered. This latter fact emphasizes most clearly the extreme importance of having all the rare pamphlets, as well as all manuscripts, bearing upon or relating to Freemasonry, reproduced, or, at least, copied in manuscript, so that there may not be lost to the Craft evidence, not only valuable in itself, but perhaps vital to a correct appreciation of other pieces of evidence, which may from time to time be brought forward. It also emphasizes the importance of the work commenced by this Lodge in its series of ten volumes of Reprints, and carried on so admirably by Bro. J. T. Thorp, on behalf of the Leicester Lodge of Research. I do sincerely trust that no effort will be spared, by those able to assist, in endeavouring to trace the location of the two missing pamphlets, which, presumably, have been lost sight of since the Masonic Library and collection of the late Bro. A. M. Broadley was broken up.

May I, now, as a young student, say how exceedingly glad I am that the very grudging admissions of the older school of Masonic critics, as to the value of the many early exposures and catechisms, have not deterred Bro. Poole from taking up this important subject. The subject matter lies rather outside those branches of Masonic research to which I have hitherto devoted my attention, and, therefore, whilst I have perused this paper with the very greatest interest, I do not feel myself qualified to criticize the deductions that have been made therein from all the material collected. Still, there are one or two points in the paper upon which I should like to address myself.

Bro. Poole notes, but without comment, the fact that the majority of the documents he quotes from bear a strong Scottish impress. Now the late Bro. Speth considered that whilst English Freemasonry, prior to the Grand Lodge era, may have been similar to Scottish Freemasonry, the probability was that it was not, and he stated with regard to Scotland that:—

> "When we first become acquainted with the Lodges and for years after the establishment of the Grand Lodge, they were still active, legal,

recognized authorities, empowered to control and direct their trade, exclude offenders against their laws and admit members to the freedom of the Craft." (*A.Q.C.* i., 140.)

On the contrary, throughout the period covered by the Minutes of the old Scottish Lodges, Bro. Gould states that:—

> "English Lodges (of which we possess any trace) were composed almost, if not exclusively, of speculative (or non-working) Masons." (*A.Q.C.* i., 11.)

From the Old Charges, which, as Bro. Poole states, present us with, at any rate, a portion of the ritual of admission to the Fraternity, we do not get any traces of more than one ceremony. There is no evidence that Elias Ashmole underwent more than one ceremony. Also the Minutes of the Old Lodge, meeting at York, the earliest of which is dated the 19th March, 1712, only state that the new members were "sworn and admitted," and there is no hint of any second ceremony. Bro. W. J. Hughan held very strong views upon this subject, and has stated:—

> "It is still a difficulty with me to understand how brethren versed in Craft lore can see any proof that more than one esoteric ceremony was known to and practised by our Masonic forefathers anterior to the Grand Lodge era." (*A.Q.C.* x., 127.)

This statement, was, however, made before the Chetwode Crawley MS. was discovered. From this document, which confirms the Haughfoot Minute of 1702, we learn of a second, or Master's degree, being worked in Scotland. Without exhaustively following up and comparing the evidence upon the subject-matter of degrees, we may, I think, say that the suggestions thrown out by Bro. Poole have much to recommend them, and that there is certainly a probability that there may have been in Scotland, amongst the Operative Masons, not only a ceremony when the Mason was apprenticed, but also one when he had served his apprenticeship and his articles were returned to him. This was the view taken by Bro. Speth, who stated:—

> "The conclusion is irresistably forced upon us that there must have been additional modes of recognition communicated to the apprentice passed out of his indentures as a master of his craft, which enabled him to travel from Lodge to Lodge." (*A.Q.C.* xi., 48.)

In England, on the other hand, the evidence is of such a late period that we only learn of one ceremony being performed, in which the Speculative Mason is admitted to the Fraternity. I hope, therefore, that some of our expert Brethren may work upon the suggestions made by Bro. Poole at the conclusion of his paper; and that the road indicated may not end in a *cul de sac*.

Bro. Poole believes that during the initiation ceremony, outlined in the various exposures he has quoted from, there was some sort of horse-play, and that certain phrases in these exposures support that belief. It may, therefore, be interesting to note, in this connection, the short set of nine By-Laws of the Lodge meeting at the Maid's Head, Magdalen Street, Norwich, and constituted on the 11th May, 1724. These By-Laws are contained in the Lodge Book, wherein are recorded the Minutes of the meetings of the Maid's Head Lodge from the 27th December, 1743, to the 2nd December, 1789. The first entry in this Lodge Book contains a short record of the history of the Lodge prior to the commencement of the Minutes. Immediately following this entry, and forming part of it, we learn:—

> "and for ye better preserving ye Peace and Harmony of this Lodge the follow^{g} Rules recommended by our Worthy Broth^{r} Dr Desaguliers are enter'd as a testimony of the approbation of the Members thereof."

Then follow nine articles, or rules, the sixth of which reads:—

> "6. That no ridiculous trick be play'd with any person when he is admitted."

There is nothing to show at what period between 1724 and 1744 Dr. Desaguliers recommended these Rules to the Maid's Head Lodge; but from the rule just quoted we may assume that, during the early years of organized Freemasonry, tricks, in the nature of horse-play, were played upon Candidates for Initiation, that it was a practice that Dr. Desaguliers disapproved of, and that he desired to stamp it out if possible. I have not come across a similar regulation in any of the other early By-Laws I have perused. Perhaps other Brethren have been more fortunate, as it would be extremely interesting to know to what extent horse-play had continued after the formation of Grand Lodge.

In concluding these remarks, already I am afraid extended to greater length than I had intended, may I put forward a suggestion, which would benefit the younger students of Masonry? Would Bro. Poole, to whom we are already greatly indebted, increase that indebtedness by attaching, as an Appendix to his paper, a list of all the documents he has quoted from, giving opposite each in parallel columns: (i.) the present location of the original MS., or, if in print, where a copy is located, and (ii.) whether the document has been reproduced, and, if so, where?

Bro. Rev. H. G. Rosedale, D.D., *writes*:—

The paper which Bro. Poole has given us, and which shows evidence of considerable work and study, will doubtless be exceedingly useful to a very large number of those who are not so well acquainted with the Ancient Charges and the earlier printed allusions to Freemasonry. His notes on both of these will be very useful as tending in the direction of classification of early Masonic documents, but the net result of his examination would seem to me to be extraordinarily meagre in view of the large amount of matter which leads up to this result.

I cannot but express the conviction that he is right in saying that the period of 1730 or thereabouts marks a far greater distinction between Masonic practices and ideals than does the period of 1717, but this is only true so far as results are concerned; much had been developing during the interval. It has often astonished me how little Masonic writers have realized the length of time necessary in the early part of the eighteenth century to produce any extensive changes. At this distance of time we are apt to imagine that Masonic movements loomed far bigger in the public eye than they probably did in reality, and that it was only by the keen activity of individual Masons that developments took place even when political aspirations stimulated a desire for expansion.

I do not think it will be seriously doubted that until the publication in 1723 of the Book of Constitutions very little of a Masonic nature was ever put into writing by the Brethren, and anything that was printed or written before 1725 may, therefore, be suspect, the only exception to this, on the part of the Masons themselves, being the early Charges, and the Book of Constitutions.

I regret that Bro. Poole, alluding to the Harris MS. No. 1, in an airy way disposes of our late learned Bro. Hughan's opinion with regard to its history. I, perhaps, have had greater opportunities of studying this question from the Minute Books of the Bedford Lodge, which are at the present moment in my possession, than he has had, and I would ask him to remember that there is such a thing as circumstantial or corroborative evidence, and that, before entirely disposing of the late Bro. Hughan's views, it might be well if he studied the matter a little more closely.

Again, he tells us that the Harris MS. No. 2 'can be shown' to be not a copy of No. 1, etc., and in making so bold a statement would it not have been well for him to give reasons for a view which so many careful students so far have not suggested.

I cannot follow Bro. Poole when he suggests that the page preceding the Haughfoot Minute was *necessarily* 'very esoteric.' I have seen a good many Minute Books in which pages have been torn out, not for the reason stated, but because of a mistake made, or in consequence of a Minute having been entered which it was thought desirable should not be seen on purely personal grounds.

Whilst, for some reason, raising criticism of Bro. Hughan's view of the Harris MS. No. 1, it is interesting to read the equally dogmatic view which the writer takes in the entirely opposite direction when he says, speaking of the Dumfries No. 4: "there is however no reason whatever to doubt its genuine Masonic character and we may safely accept Bro. Hughan's verdict that undoubtedly a portion of the catechism may fairly be accepted, etc." I again suggest that such strong views in either direction, even if correct, should be backed up by further information.

When the writer, alluding to the 'Mason's Examination,' says that: "the reading of the traditional history and the Charges is almost the only feature of the ceremony of admission which we know from the Old Charges to be of great antiquity" I fail to follow him. The existence of such a Prayer as that which precedes most of the MS. Charges, and which he may suggest will not be found in the Regius and Cooke MSS., is, to my mind, certainly older than the Charges themselves, for it is unthinkable that, in the earlier days, especially in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, any ceremony of importance could have been entered upon without some invocation of the Deity, and the Oath becomes more essential as one goes back farther into the dim and distant past, when Society was less organised and life less secure.

I would venture to suggest that copies of a portion, at least, of some of the rarer documents to which he alludes should be reproduced together with this paper.

May I propound to the learned writer this question?: Did the Obligation always follow the reading of the Charge, or did it not in some cases come between the Traditional History and the reading of the Charge?

The 'Mason's Examination,' on which our Brother seems to lay considerable emphasis, seems to me to show signs of having been taken largely from hearsay. For instance, was there ever a general practice of the candidate presenting each of the brethren present with a pair of men's and women's gloves? Was it not he who received them as well as the Apron? Perhaps a confusion with practice noted at end of Minor's Catechism in 'The Freemason Examined.' With regard to the apron I do not feel on such strong ground, but, certainly, the practice which ensued all over the world very shortly after the date we are speaking of, was that the Initiate was presented with two pairs of gloves and an apron, and the picture of each brother of some years standing having a parcel of new aprons seems rather unpractical. It may be that the account given in the 'Mason's Examination' is correct, but, if this is correct, the change from the older practice to the later one seems an extraordinarily violent and hardly a likely one.

Again, the 'Grand Whimsey' account shows another confusion of ideas. The attempt to describe the usual practice, which is not difficult to follow, of the candidate being taken round the outside of the rows of brethren and finally touching one warden on the shoulder, may, of course, be the result of a confused memory of one who has not been present at the meetings except once or twice at some distant time. The whole account, when put in a normal form, savours largely of the Continental practice with regard to the 'journeys,' which, of course, in its time was derived from England or Scotland, and these journeys were always *outside* the two columns, etc.

I am further influenced in the direction of French origin for these so-called exposures by the account given of the experiences of the candidate after his obligation "Blindfolded and the ceremony of ———— is performed"— "a thousand different postures and grimaces"—does not this allude to the old

French practice (again, probably derived from England or Scotland) of taking him into what was called the cave and there throwing the candidate into water? Perhaps the omitted word is purification.

Again, the phrase "give me the Jerusalem word" is interesting, but this seems to me merely a form of the "Holy word," called so, no doubt, in distinction to the password.

The product of the paper should be given in a condensed form, and, when this net result has been established, I cannot help feeling that it will be found that, by taking the Masonic practices and rituals which remained more or less intact on the Continent, certainly up till 1770, as good, if not better results will be obtained, and I would venture to suggest to Bro. Poole that, if he will devote some of his great industry to dealing with early Continental Masonry largely derived from Britain, it will give very extensive, and, I fancy, very satisfactory result.

Having criticised, I hope not too severely criticised, the paper (for anything of that sort is much to be reprobated amongst brethren), I desire to acknowledge that it is exceedingly suggestive and that it will bear a great deal of study and examination and ought to be the means of stimulating many brethren to go more deeply into early Masonic documents.

In conclusion, may I congratulate Bro. Poole on his admirable suggestion "that the giving of secrets to the apprentice indicates a 'telescoping' of ceremonies for the benefit of the speculative"? No doubt it will be the subject of careful examination by all thoughtful students of the subject.

Bro. Poole *writes* as follows, in reply:—

I want first of all to put on record in its proper place in the Lodge Records—what I lost the opportunity of doing when I waived my right to reply in the Lodge—my very high appreciation of the honour of membership of this Lodge which has been conferred on me, and my hope that, though I dare not dream of reaching the heights attained by some of the earlier members, it may yet be my privilege to contribute in some small way to the enlightening of dark places, and to the general knowledge of Masonic history.

Most of the comments made on this paper were so kind and appreciative that my task now consists rather in thanking those who made them than in replying to criticisms.

There is one point, however, which I would like to make, and make strongly. My paper represents an attempt to establish a sound basis of fact for the existence and nature of Masonic 'ritual' at and before the foundation of Grand Lodge; and I resolutely refused, and still refuse, to be pushed either forwards or backwards. Both Bro. Clegg and Bro. Stokes would have me search for origins; and I have little doubt that the fields they suggest would well repay the patient investigator. But I am sure that we ought to exhaust the period with which I have dealt, and satisfy ourselves as far as possible as to what Freemasonry was *then*, before we attempt to show how it was derived from Religious or other sources. Unless we do this, it is difficult to avoid the tendency to read more into our Freemasonry than was really in it.

The same applies to any suggestion, such as those of Bro. Rosedale and Bro. Meekren, as to comparison with post-1730 documents. It is true that I included the 'Mason's Confession,' of 1755; but only because it expressly claims to speak of the working of 1727; and even then I was careful to limit the legitimate use of it as material. For, the moment we place the workings of a later date, whether English, French, or American, alongside of these early scraps, we are at once tempted to fill out the early ritual with what we may conjecture was there. We may, perhaps, do this perfectly correctly: my point is that, as we cannot test our results, we are more likely in this way to hinder than to promote a complete knowledge of the period under consideration.

My object in the paper was, primarily, to prove that the problem was not insoluble, by enumerating the possible sources of information, and indicating the relative amount of authority which each can claim; and at the same time to put on record, in my enumeration, a basis on which others may build. For this reason I am glad of Bro. Daynes' suggestion for a table showing the locations of the sources and where these have been reproduced; and I have drawn up such a table to be appended to this paper. For the same reason I also welcome Bro. Hobbs' suggested programme, though I do not think I am the right person to sit at the centre of such a collaboration. The difficulty, of course, is that one never knows just what to investigate. Bro. Hobbs has been most fortunate in obtaining a positive result in his search for a limiting date for a phrase in the Oath; but I have usually found that such items are stumbled on accidentally. At the moment, I cannot suggest any lines along which to seek for foundations; but I need hardly say that I would be delighted to collaborate—whether as principal or subordinate—with anyone who can consolidate my position or go deeper still.

I am glad to find that my tentative suggestions as to the number and arrangement of degrees have caused several Brethren to "sit up and take notice." I am not sure that the time is quite ripe for a re-opening of the whole subject; but I think it worth while to state here, for the benefit of anyone who does take it up, that, in my opinion, the position of Bro. W. J. Hughan (quoted by Bro. Daynes) would be considerably weakened if it could be shown that the normal practice was to keep separate Minute Books for separate degrees in the early eighteenth century, as we know certain Lodges did later. I prefer to make no comment on Bro. Meekren's remarks on this subject, save that I am glad he has put them on record, because I consider that they offer material worthy of very serious consideration.

Bro. Daynes has, I think, brought forward a very useful piece of evidence in his extract from the Bye-Laws of the Maid's Head Lodge. Bro. Songhurst is rightly reluctant to believe in the possibility of the Master indulging in the 'ridiculous postures and grimaces'; and I cannot help thinking that his suggestion that horse-play may have formed part of a ceremony of admission *arranged by the men themselves* may be nearer the truth than it appears at first sight; and that, when the serious and solemn part of the ceremony was over, the candidate may have been handed over to the tender mercies of the younger brethren, to pay his footing according to a more or less stereotyped custom.

Bro. Rosedale's comments require more detailed treatment. As to the ownership of the Harris No. 1 MS., I cannot pretend to have studied the Minute Books of the Bedford Lodge; nor was I aware that there was any reference to the MS. beyond the Minute quoted by Hughan (Old Charges, 1895, p. 80). If, as I gather, there is further evidence, I can only say that Bro. Rosedale would be doing a better service to the cause of Masonic research by bringing it forward than by merely pointing out my ignorance.

That the Harris No. 2 is not, in fact, *simply* a copy of No. 1 was explicitly stated by Hughan at p. 91; though, with our fuller knowledge of the texts to-day, I think we may disagree with his opinion as to the source of the disagreements. At any rate, there are quite a fair number of passages where the Harris No. 2 follows the Dumfries No. 3 against the Harris No. 1; while in at least two cases (if my transcript is correct) the Harris No. 2 preserves words omitted by No. 1—*e.g.*, "nor put him to any *disworship*" and "free born, *of good kindred* (*true*) *and no* bondman," where the words in italics are omitted in No. 1.

On the question of the Haughfoot Minute, Bro. Rosedale seems to have read only half my sentence. I wrote: "If the previous page contained . . . anything like the [Chetwode Crawley] MS., then it must have been very esoteric indeed"; and if Bro. Rosedale has access to a copy of the Chetwode Crawley MS. he will find that the page in question even goes so far as to write some 'secret words.'

I cannot quite see what Bro. Rosedale wants when he critises my acceptance of Hughan's view as to the Dumfries 4 MS. *Is* there any reason to doubt the genuine Masonic character of the MS.? Bro. Rosedale sounds as if, here again, he has some evidence 'up his sleeve'; and, if so, I hope he will let us have it in due course. Till then, I still consider that we may safely accept Hughan's view.

I am sorry for the slight slip which has led to his next comment. When I referred to the "Traditional History and the Charges" I meant the *whole* of the document which we usually refer to as the 'Old Charges,' including Prayer and Oath. I think his question as to the O.B. is really best answered by the suggestion that the Charge was a part of the O.B. I imagine (and this is borne out by the "Tunc unus" clause) that the V.S.L. was held out, and the candidate put his hand on it and kept it there until the "So help me God" formula which ends the written portion of the ritual.

I do not know how long the custom of presenting gloves continued; nor did I know that at a later date gloves were given *to* the candidate. But Bro. Rosedale will find unequivocal support, at any rate in principle, of the 'Mason's Examination,' in the Aberdeen Bye-Laws of 1670:—

> ". . . that no entering prenteise shall be receaved in this our honourable lodge but shall pay four rex dollares of Composition ane linen Aprone ane pair of good gloves to everie person concerned in the forsaid lodge . . .";

while in Anderson's *Constitutions*, 1723, Regulation VII., we have:—

> "Every *new Brother* at his making is decently to cloath the *Lodge*, that is, all the Brethren present . . ."

I must ask leave to abstain from comment on several ingenious suggestions as to the '3 Rulers,' and the numbers 36, 34 and 32. The process of interpreting cryptic number-arrangements is a fascinating one; but it rarely happens that one can be certain if the solution is correct; and I have deliberately avoided such problems in recent times.

I must conclude with two apologies. One is to Bro. Baxter, whose paper in *A.Q.C.* xxxi.—though I have made no reference to it—did a good deal towards turning my attention to this subject. He is, however, in a sense to blame for my omission, for his useful Index to our *Transactions* just stops short of that particular volume, and I have several times failed to put my hand on the paper when I wanted to refer to it!

The other is to the Lodge in general, for my creation of the "Grand Whimsey," which, I fear has misled several Brethren. The proper title for this exposure is "The Mystery of Free-Masonry"; but as this is so easily confused with others of the group, I adopted (for my own use) the opening words of the 'covering letter' which appeared with it in the *Daily Journal*:—

> "Sir,
>
> The Grand Whimsy of Masonry has been long the subject of Amusement to divers Persons . . ."

My carelessness led to the title appearing in the text of my paper; but I have deliberately allowed it to stay because, now that I have made my statement, I think that it may serve others, as it has served me, to avoid confusion.

Once again, many thanks to those who have made comments on the paper, and brought forward much additional matter of great interest, which space does not allow me to acknowledge in greater detail; and who have given the paper a reception more favourable than I could have dared to hope.

THE GOOSE AND GRIDIRON.

BY BRO. W. J. WILLIAMS.

THE above title will always have an appeal to every Freemason who has interested himself, even though but to a small extent, in the History of the Grand Lodge of England, for it was within the walls of that house that on the 24th June, 1717, the meeting was held at which Anthony Sayer was chosen to be the first Grand Master of the Grand Lodge then organised.

The Time Immemorial Lodge, now known as the Lodge of Antiquity No. 2, had for some time prior to 1717 met at the Goose and Gridiron. The Lodge appears in the Engraved List of 1728 as meeting there, but in the Engraved List of 1729 its meeting place is given as the King's Arms, St. Paul's Churchyard. Hence it would seem that the removal must have been effected in or shortly before 1729. The Lodge was, however, very careful to identify itself as being the same Lodge as that which had met at the Goose and Gridiron, and many years later the Lodge Summonses record the connection with the old place.

Although the Lodge of Antiquity left the Goose and Gridiron, other Lodges subsequently met there, namely, (1) the Lodge No. 93 in the 1729 list, which patronised the place from 1733 to 1735; (2) the Lodge No. 333 in the 1755 list from 1766 to 1768; and (3) the Bank of England Lodge (now No. 263) from 1820 to 1821. These dates are taken from Lane's *Masonic Records*, which states the year when the Lodges referred to first met at the Goose and Gridiron and the date when their next meeting place is recorded.

None of the Lodges seem to have clung long to the old place. Perhaps they found the accommodation unsatisfactory. It will be seen hereafter that the whole site only comprised an area of 21 feet by 22 feet, and that at some stage an extension was made Eastward to obtain more room.

In the course of a recent attempt made by the writer to ascertain the facts as to the exact site, aspect and dimensions of the Goose and Gridiron, enquiry was made at the offices of the Ecclesiastical Commission, who now have the control of the property in or about St. Paul's Churchyard, on which the palace of the Bishop of London at one time stood. The result was that some old Leases were produced of which the following are particulars:—

(1) A counterpart of a lease dated 8th July 1784 made between Robert the then Bishop of London and Thomas Richardson of Castle Street Long Acre Brewer. This recites very fully two leases both dated 24th June 1764 and made between Richard Bishop of London and Nicholas Voss of Drury Lane, Master Builder.

By the first recited lease the Bishop for considerations therein mentioned did demise grant and to farm let unto the said Nicholas Voss his executors administrators and assigns All that the toft and tofts of ground and soil whereupon was erected part of a tenement then and for some time past known by the name or sign of the Goose & Gridiron theretofore in the tenure or occupation of Thomas Morris [1] and then of ——— [2] Jefferys, Victualler, which

[1] It may be noted that a Thomas Morris was member of the Lodge at the Goose and Gridiron (Antiquity) in 1723 and 1725, having been Grand Warden in 1718, 1719 and 1721.

[2] Blank in original.

said toft of ground containeth from North to South 21 feet of assize and from East to West 12 feet of assize (more or less) and is situate in the Parish of Saint Gregory in the City of London together with all ways lights easements watercourses and appurts to the same belonging or in any wise appertaining and all houses edifices and buildings thereupon or upon any part thereof erected and set or to be erected and set To hold the same premises unto the said Nicholas Voss . . . from the making of the said Indenture for the term of 40 years under the yearly rent or sum of 20 shillings payable as therein mentioned.

By the second recited lease the Bishop let to Nicholas Voss All that the Toft and Tofts of ground and soil whereupon was erected part of a messuage or tenement (being the remainder of the above recited messuage or tenement) then and for some time past called or known by the name or sign of the Goose and Gridiron theretofore in the occupation of Thomas Morris and then of ——— Jefferys, Victualler which said Toft of ground containeth from East to West 10 feet of assize (more or less) and is situate in the said Parish of St. Gregory . . . Together with all houses edifices and buildings thereupon or upon any part thereof erected and set or to be erected and set And all shops cellars sollars vaults Chambers Rooms Lights ways easements watercourses and appurtenances to the same belonging or appertaining To hold the same with the appurts unto the said Nicholas Voss . . . from the making of the said Indenture for the term of 40 years under the yearly rent or sum of 12/s. payable as therein mentioned.

The Lease dated 1784 then recites that the interest in the whole of the said first and last recited premises had by assignment or other conveyance in the law become legally vested in the said Thomas Richardson And it was witnessed that the said Reverend Father in consideration of the surrender of the two recited leases and also in consideration of the rents covenants and agreements thereinafter reserved & contained and on the Lessees part to be paid performed and kept . . . hath demised granted and to farm letten and by those presents did demise grant and to farm lett unto the said Thomas Richardson . . . All that the aforesaid first above mentioned toft and tofts of ground and soil and all other the premises with the appurts contained in the first of the said two several recited Indentures of Lease And also All that the aforesaid last above mentioned toft and tofts of ground and soil and all other the premises with the appurts contained in the latter of the said two several recited Indentures of Lease To have and to hold all the aforesaid premises contained in the first recited Indenture of Lease with all and every the appurts And also to have and to hold all the aforesaid premises contained in the latter of the said two several recited Indentures of Lease with all & every the appurts Together with the messuage or tenement called the Goose and Gridiron as the same was then in the possession or occupation of Joseph Langdon and is situate in the parish of St. Gregory in the City of London unto the said Thomas Richardson . . . from the 24th day of June then last past for . . . the term of 40 years from thence next ensuing and fully to be compleat and ended.

The Lease then reserves rents of 20/s. per annum for the first parcel and 12/s. per annum for the second parcel to be payable (except when the Bishopric was vacant) at the Palace of the Bishop in St. James's Square commonly called London House. The usual covenants by Lessor and Lessee then follow and so the Counterpart Lease concludes and is executed by Thomas Richardson.

The Indorsement on the Counterpart Lease bears the number 127,347$\frac{+}{+}$ and in the top left hand corner there is written "New Erections 14. 15." The true inference from these last words appears to be that at or about the time the lease of 1784 was granted the Buildings known as The Goose and Gridiron were newly erected. In the absence of evidence to the contrary it would seem that the whole building was re-erected then. This accounts for the surrender in 1784 of the two old leases dated 1764. It is not an unusual thing, even in these days, for a Lessee who wants to re-construct or make expensive alterations to go to his Freeholder and give up the old lease and

start again with a full term. It would not have paid to incur a heavy expense when only twenty years of the 1764 term was to run. Probably it was the law then the Bishop could not grant leases for more than forty years as it might prejudice succeeding Bishops.

The adjoining Building (to the East of those comprised in the above lease) had a tablet dated 1786 built into its front wall, of which tablet more will be said later on.

(2) A somewhat similar transaction appears to have brought about the next in order of the Leases. It is dated 5th September 1798 and is endorsed (No. 127347$\frac{3}{4}$)

N.E. 14275
(probably N.E. means new erections)
Beilby Lord Bishop of London
to
George Shum & C°. Brewers.

It is a similar lease for 40 years from 24th January 1798. The Parties are:—(1) Beilby Bishop of London and (2) Harvey Christian Combe, Joseph Delafield, George Shum the Younger and William Packer of Castle Street Long Acre, Brewers. The 1784 lease was surrendered and the rents were to be £1 and 12/^{s}. as before.

When Brother Bristowe made his measured drawings for the History of the Lodge of Antiquity No. 2 he appears to have noticed that the Upper Storey of the house was an addition subsequent to the original structure and this addition to the height would have been a justification for an extension of the term without any increase of rent and without any premium being paid to the Bishop whose reversion would thereby be improved in value.

(3) On 24th January 1812 a new lease was granted on a surrender of the 1798 lease. The new term was 40 years and the rent £1.12.0. The parties were:—(1) John Lord Bishop and (2) Joseph Delafield & Co. Brewers. The number outside the Lease is 127348.

(4) The next Lease is dated 31st March 1826 (number 127349$\frac{1}{2}$). It is from William Lord Bishop of London to Harvey Combe & Joseph Delafield. The consideration is the surrender of the lease of 1812 and payment of £79.5.0 as premium. The measurements are united and stated to be from North to South 21 feet of assize and from East to West 22 feet of assize. The term is 40 years from 24th January 1826 and the Rent per annum 32/-. In this case I saw both the Lease and the Counterpart. The number on the latter is 127349$\frac{2}{2}$

(5) Then followed another similar Lease dated 24th January 1840 (No. 127350). This was also to Combe and Delafield and the occupier was the same as in 1826. The premium was however larger than before; namely, £91.15/-, but the rent remained 32/-.

(6) The last of these Leases bears date 30th May 1854 (No. 127351) and is from Charles James Bishop of London to Henry Combe. The 1840 Lease was surrendered, a premium of £150 paid and the rent per annum was still 32/-. The term was 40 years from 24th January 1854. This brings us up nearly to the date when the buildings were demolished in or about 1894.

This Lease has a plan on it of which a copy has been obtained by the courtesy of the Secretary of the Ecclesiastical Commission. This plan is reproduced (save colouring) with this paper. (Plate No. 1.) It will be seen that it very closely agrees with the drawings made by Brother Bristowe, and thus the identity of the site is established by a chain of leases extending back to the recited leases dated 1764 which leases themselves refer to the Goose and Gridiron as having then been known as such for some time past.

Whatever alterations may have been made from time to time in the structure of the house it seems quite clear that the site comprised in these leases is the same as that whereon the memorable transaction of 1717 took place.

It will be seen from the plan that, although we usually read of the Goose and Gridiron being in St. Paul's Churchyard it never was in fact there. It stood in London House Yard. London House Yard still exists. The main branch of it runs (South to North) from St. Paul's Churchyard into Paternoster Row: to the East of that and about half-way runs (from West to East) another branch of it which terminates in a closed angle, and London House Yard then turns again and runs from North to South into St. Paul's Churchyard. Such is London House Yard now. But Rocque's Map of 1746 (which was engraved by John Pine, the well-known Engraver of the Frontispiece to Anderson's Constitutions of 1723 and of numerous Engraved Lists of Lodges) shows that where there is now what I have called a closed angle, in 1746 a continuation of London House Yard ran Eastward. Rocque's Map names this Mitre Court. It ran from W. to E. and then turned at right angles into St. Paul's Churchyard.

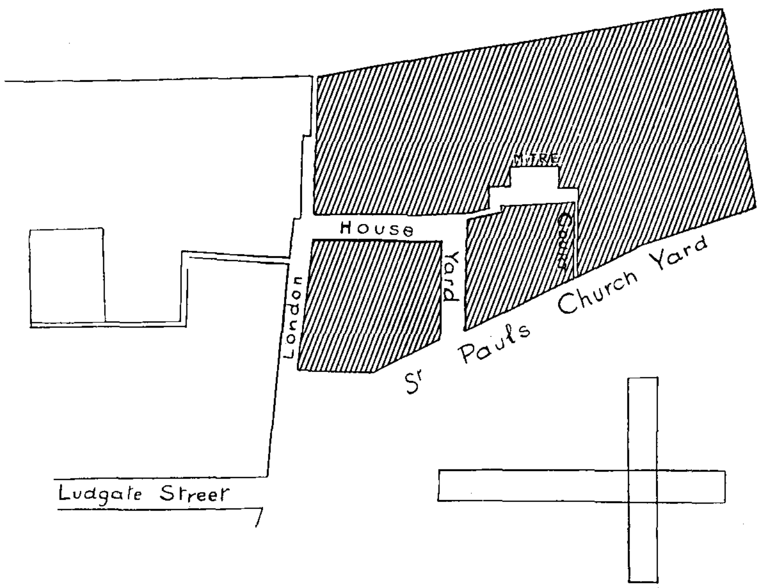


Plate No. 2. From Rocque's Plan of London, engraved by John Pine, 1746.

Mitre Court has for several years been abolished and built over. There can be little doubt that on the North side of it there stood the once celebrated Mitre Music House which was destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666. The configuration of the passage as shown in the 1746 Map indicates as much.

In a Lease produced at the office of the Ecclesiastical Commission dated 23rd February 1808 (No. 127371) relating to a great part of the Western block of the premises now occupied by Messrs. Hitchcock Williams & Co., in St. Paul's Churchyard, the demised premises include:—All that cellar adjoining to the North end of the said messuage or tenement and lying under a Great Room which was part of a messuage or tenement known by the sign of the Mitre and leased by a lease dated 15th January 1662. There are other leases of the same premises dated respectively 30th March 1822 (127372), 2nd April 1836 (127373), and 18th May 1856 (127374). A copy of the plan on the lease of 1808 accompanies this paper. (Plate No. 3.) It seems clear that the Goose and Gridiron, standing on a site of 21 feet by 22 feet, never could have contained any room worthy of being called a Great Room; and, besides that, it was never on the North side of the premises leased in the 1808 lease.

Thus the allegation sometimes made that the Goose and Gridiron is the successor of The Mitre does not hold good. It does not seem likely that the Mitre extended Westward beyond Mitre Court into London House Yard.

It will be seen from the Plan on the 1854 Lease of the Goose and Gridiron that on the East of the Public House a space is shown with the inscription "James Wadmore formerly Foster." This is separated from the Goose and Gridiron itself by a thick main wall which the dotted lines show has been partly cut away so as to allow communication between the two parts. This Eastward addition was undoubtedly for many years used in conjunction with the Goose and Gridiron, but the view taken from the *Daily Graphic* of 28th August 1894 and reproduced in *A.Q.C.*, vol. vii., by page 182, shows that this was originally a distinct building having its upper floors on slightly different levels from the floors of the Goose and Gridiron itself. This is confirmed by the measured drawings of the plan and elevation prepared by Brother Bristowe for the History of the Lodge of Antiquity.

In this connection light can now be thrown on the sculptured tablet indicated in the *Daily Graphic* picture. At the two top corners of that tablet appear the initials T.F., then comes a Mitre, and at the foot the date 1786.

On inspecting the 1798 Lease two loose receipts were found for sums paid by (1) Shum & Co. and (2) George Shum for fees in connection with tenancies granted by Thomas Foster. These are dated Octr. 1 for £19.4.0 and another 22nd Septr. for £30:8:0, but neither states the year. The Tablet therefore shows the initials of Thomas Foster; the Mitre indicates either that his holding was in Mitre Court, or that it occupied part of the former site of The Mitre; while the date 1786 shows the date of re-construction, either partial or entire.

It will be observed that Shum & Co. and George Shum who paid the money to T. Foster are named in the 1798 lease of the Goose and Gridiron. They were obviously sub-tenants of Thomas Foster so far as the extension was concerned. They were the predecessors in business of Combe & Co., the Brewers, whose names are shown in the *Daily Graphic* picture.

The Mitre could hardly have been sculptured to indicate that the building was Bishopric property. If so we should expect to find other tablets on other and more prominent buildings. The fact is that recent writers on the subject were unaware that the Foster extension of the Goose and Gridiron was in Mitre Court. They could hardly be blamed for this, because it is a long time since that part of Mitre Court was abolished and many years since the residue of it was built over. The 1854 Plan records that in front of the Foster extension was "formerly Mitre Court passage." The drawings reveal the fact that in the latter period of the Goose and Gridiron part of the frontage of the Foster extension was blocked in by the rear of Messrs. Hitchcock Williams & Co.'s Western block of buildings fronting upon St. Paul's Churchyard.

It is known to most readers of this article that the sign of The Goose and Gridiron, which was removed when the building was demolished in or about 1894, is now in the Guildhall Museum, and there is a tablet stating that it was presented by C. S. Gauntlett, Esq., in 1894. I am told the sign is made of cast iron. It is depicted in *A.Q.C.*, vol. vii., page 182. The Keeper of the Museum informs me that the Catalogue ascribes it (on what authority he does not know) to the early nineteenth century. The sign seems well executed, but it struck me that it was highly improbable that it was the same sign as that which was extant in 1717.

A woodcut of the sign as it appeared in or about 1713 purports to be given in Edward Ward's *A Guide for Malt-Worms*, second part, p. 28. This cut depicts a Goose in profile looking to the left of the cut at something like a tuft of grass. A Gridiron is shown at the right of the cut behind the Goose but with a space intervening. The said Guide proceeds thus:—

View but the Sign and it will make you smile
At sight of Goose and instrument to Broil
This will excite you both to drink and eat
Oh! for a Leg! for its delicious Meat
To relish the Strong Tipple retail'd here
And give more than a Zest in Wine to Beer;
But I forget the Bird's unpick'd I see,
And will wear Feathers still in spight of me.
DUTCH Carvers from St. Paul's adjacent Dome
Hither to whet their Whistles daily come,
Not Tools &c &c.

. . . . . .

Jack Y——G too and a Crowd of Fiddlers more
Here tire the Guests and play them out of Door.

At page 29 of the last mentioned book it is said: "The rarities of the Goose and Gridiron (mentioned on the other side) are 1. The odd sign. 2. The Pillar which supports the Chimney. 3. The skittle Ground upon the Top of the House. 4. The watercourse running thro' the Chimney. 5. The handsome maid Hannah."

These items lead to the following observations:—

(*a*) The probability is that the sign is correctly, though roughly, depicted having regard to the marked way in which it is alluded to.

(*b*) The measured drawings by Brother Bristowe give no indication whatever of the existence either of the Pillar supporting the Chimney, the Skittle ground on Top of the House, or the Watercourse running through the Chimney. These oddities were probably removed in the course of the re-building or other alterations before-mentioned.

(*c*) The existence of a skittle ground at the top of the house leads to the inference that the old roof was flat topped and not gabled, especially having regard to the limited dimensions of the site.

The writer was first prompted to make the enquiry resulting in this paper because a Brother produced to him a copy of Preston's *Illustrations of Masonry* (8th Edition dated 1792), nicely bound in old red morocco and with gilt edges, having on its fore edge a well executed water colour drawing of an old Inn showing the sign of the Goose and Gridiron and having on the flyleaf, in what looked like faded ink, the following note:—"The Goose and Gridiron, St. Paul's Churchyard where the Grand Lodge of England was organised on the 24th of June 1717."

To all outward seeming the drawing appeared to be genuine and authentic, and to be over 100 years old. Searches were made at the British Museum (including the Print Room), the London Museum, and the Guildhall Museum, to find out whether any drawing was in existence which could have formed the basis of the fore edge drawing, but in neither of those places was any drawing of the Tavern traced. Both Brother Songhurst and Brother Wonnacott expressed serious doubts as to whether the drawing could be correct, because it depicted a wide fronted building with galleries and a courtyard, such as were typical of the old coaching inns; and there certainly was no room for such a building on the site which was known in 1894 as that of the Goose and Gridiron. Brother Wonnacott, however, found in the Grand Lodge Library, in a publication entitled *Two Centuries of Freemasonry*, published in the year 1917 by the International Bureau for Masonic affairs of Neufchatel (Switzerland) and printed at Berne in connection with Grand Lodge Bi-centenary, an Illustration which coincides with the central part of the fore edge drawing.

The point then arose whence that illustration and the fore edge drawing were derived, and so far as has been ascertained the picture first appeared in Mackey's *History of Freemasonry* published in New York in 1901. In this country we find it as an illustration to the Second Edition of Gould's *Concise History of Freemasonry* in 1920.

While these enquiries were going on the book was shown to a Brother who has some acquaintance with such matters, and he made a suggestion which when followed up resulted in the artist who had actually made the fore edge drawing being traced and explaining that he personally executed the work somewhere about twelve years ago; that he had copied the central part of the drawing from an American publication, and had added the galleries at the side as something of the sort seemed to be in keeping with the rest of the drawing and he had to fill up the fore edge. It seems worth while putting this on record, as it is more than likely that the book in question will be turning up from time to time, and may cause misunderstanding owing to its plausible show of genuineness. A photograph of the fore edge drawing has been deposited in the Grand Lodge Library and in the Library of Quatuor Coronati Lodge in case reference to it is at any time desirable. Fore edge drawings were originally made by one Edwards during the period *circa* 1795-1820, but it seems that at a fairly recent date a number of books have been embellished in that way and some of them bear every appearance of antiquity.

I wish to express my indebtedness to Mr. C. W. F. Goss, F.S.A. (Librarian of the Bishopsgate Institute), and to Bro. Dr. William Martin, F.S.A., for valuable advice and assistance given in the elucidation of some of the points which have arisen.

ADDENDA.

The following items are here recorded as bearing on the subject:—

Numerous London directories published in the eighteenth century have been referred to. They nearly all boast of being complete, but most of them omit the Goose and Gridiron.

The *Universal British Directory* for 1793 mentions it in connection with the Fulham and Putney Coach and the Brentford Coach. So also does *Kents Directory* for 1793. These are the earliest Directories I have found which contain such a reference. I have gone back as far as 1765.

The Public-house is not mentioned in Stow nor in Hatton's *New View of London* (1708), although the latter purports to give a list of Inns.

In Gould's *The Four Old Lodges* (1879), at page 14, the following quotation is taken from *The History of Sign-boards* (Hotten & Larwood, 1867, p. 445):—

> II. "The Goose and Gridiron (Antiquity) occurs at Woodhull, Lincolnshire, and a few other localities: it is said to owe its origin to the following circumstances: 'The Mitre was a celebrated music-house, in London House Yard, at the N.W. end of St. Paul's; when it ceased to be a music-house, the succeeding landlord, to ridicule its former destiny, chose for his sign a goose striking the bars of a gridiron with its foot, in ridicule of the *Swan and Harp*, a common sign for the early music-houses.
>
> Such an origin does the *Tatler* give; but it may also be a vernacular of the coat of arms of the Company of Musicians suspended probably at the door of the Mitre when it was a Music-house. These arms are, a swan with his wings extended within a double tressure, counter, flory, argent. This double tressure might have suggested a gridiron to unsophisticated passers-by.'"

Numerous books on Old Taverns have been consulted. Many of them refer to the Goose and Gridiron, but, on the whole, they give no further information than is contained in the article in *A.Q.C.* vii. and in the extract from Gould's *Four Old Lodges*. None of them illustrate the old public-house itself, and Bro. Simpson, in his articles in *A.Q.C.*, vols xix., xx., and xxi., does not illustrate it, and we may be sure he made enquiries for any such illustration.

In *Old London Taverns*, by Edward Callow (Downey 1899), at p. 145 it is said concerning the Goose and Gridiron: "The same appellation was given by English sailors to the Eagle and Stripes that formed the arms and flag of the United States in the earlier years after their independence."

April 1925.

FRIDAY, 7th MARCH, 1924

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall, at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., as W.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, S.W.; John Stokes, P.Pr.G.W., West Yorks., J.W.; Ed. Armitage, P.G.D., Treas.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.Pr.G.W., Berks., P.M., D.C.; W. W. Covey Crump, S.D.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M.; A. C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; and E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. Wm. C. Terry, A. Heiron, H. Hyde, E. I. Reid, F. J. Asbury, G. Harris, E. A. Hudson, J. Smith, J. Walter Hobbs, Geo. Elkington, E. W. Marson, Walter Dewes, W. E. Heaton, J. F. Vesey Fitz Gerald, E. F. Adams, Sydney Hazeldine, H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., John Ames, F. G. Collins, C. M. Benjamin, Robt. I. Clegg, G.Historian, Ohio, W. Geoghegan, Ernest Mortimer, T. E. Eckenstein, L. S. Green, A. H. Bowen, W. Cornwall, C. J. S. O'Grady, W. Ridgway, R. E. Rann, B. Telepneff, W. L. Rind, H. C. Weeks, R. C. Foster, P. H. Horley, W. T. J. Gun, Ivor Grantham, G. W. Bullamore, J. E. Watson, B. Ivanoff, John I. Moar, M. Infeld, L. G. Wearing, H. Johnson, E. B. Cozens Brooke, A. Loftus Brown, W. J. Williams, P. Plowman, F. Fighiera, P.A.G.D.C., P. Leader Plant, W. T. Lanes, A. Presland, Geo. H. Dyball, Arthur Brown, J. W. V. Mason, Wm. Allison, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., J. S. Granville Grenfell, G.D.C., W. Lewis, A. D. Bowl, Ernest Aves, Stanley Y. Holland, C. F. Sykes, H. Dale Double, R. W. Ferris, Jos. A. Worsnop, Leslie Hemens, Lewis Edwards, Percy Green, Alfred Hildesley, W. F. Swan, Wm. Candy, H. Y. Mayell, R. F. S. Colsell, and H. A. Matheson.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. A. Belton, Minerva Lodge No. 214 (I.C.); R. Cropley Davies, L.R.; Charles P. Wilson, Duke of York Lodge No. 25 (I.C.); S. J. Pike, P.M., Putney Lodge No. 2766; A. W. Stevenson, City of London Red Cross Lodge No. 3781; H. E. K. Eccles, Earl of Sussex Lodge No. 2201; Richard Faull, P.A.G.D.C.; Chas. Ross, Kentish Lodge No. 3021; Allan Ramsey, Bounds Green Lodge No. 4406; Leslie R. Ray, Aldersgate Lodge No. 1657; H. J. Stower, P.A.G.D.C.; F. W. Hester, P.Pr.G.D., Devonshire; J. H. Pasful, Harmony Lodge No. 156; Wm. Ramsey, St. Barchan Lodge No. 156 (S.C.); J. Reeves, Electric Lodge No. 2087; S. Farmer Hamlin, P.M., London Dorset Lodge No. 3221; Wm. J. Smith, Scots Lodge No. 2319; R. S. Chandler, P.A.G.D.C.; J. Morris, Westminster City

School Lodge No. 4305; W. R. Makins, P.M., York Lodge No. 236; W Stubbings, Bolingbroke Lodge No. 2417; J. W. Thompson, St. Ambrose Lodge No. 1891; and Percy McIntyre, Noel Lodge No. 2444.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., W.M.; Ed. Conder, L.R., P.M.; Geo. Norman, P.A.G.D.C., J.D.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; R. H. Baxter, P.Pr.G.W., E.Lancs., I.P.M.; H. Poole, I.G.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; and J. E. S. Tuckett, P.Pr.G.R., Wilts., P.M.

One Lodge, one Library and Twenty-nine Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Secretary drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS.

By Bro. C. Walton Rippon, on behalf of Bro. Moulds.

Apron, probably of the Society of Oddfellows.

By Bro. Lionel Vibert.

Hand painted Apron (*see illustration*).

Bro. Arthur Heiron read the following paper:—

THE CRAFT IN THE 18th CENTURY.

OLD TIME MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

REMINISCENCES OF A BI-CENTENARY LODGE.

Old Dundee Lodge, No. 18 (Eng. Const.) 1722—1924 (No. 9: 1755—1813).

BY BRO. ARTHUR HEIRON, L.R., P.M. No. 18.

IT falls to my lot to-night to give a brief account of the first 100 years' life of my Mother Lodge, which was one of the oldest 'Modern' Lodges in the world; one that in 1755 attained to the high dignity of being allotted Number 9 on the Register of the Grand Lodge of England (1717), and held it up to the time of the Union in 1813, when in compliance with the compromise then arrived at with the 'Antients' we had to surrender our old number and from 1814 became No. 18, which distinction we still hold in 1924. The name of the Lodge in 1763 was the 'Dundee Lodge,' No. 9, then meeting in a private room in our own freehold at Red Lion Street, Wapping, London, E.;—in 1835 the title was modified with the consent of the Duke of Sussex (the then G. Master), the name being changed to the 'Old Dundee' Lodge, No. 18 (Eng. Const.), which name it bears to-day. My stories therefore chiefly hail from Wapping, on the banks of the River Thames, then the Port of London.

Pennant in his 'Life of London' (1793) speaking of Wapping in 1790 with a personal knowledge of the facts says:—

> "The whole river from the bridge—*i.e.*, London Bridge,—for a vast way is covered with a double forest of masts, with a narrow avenue in mid-channel." . . . "We send the necessaries and luxuries of our island to every part, and in return, receive every article which should satiate the most luxurious."

Old Dundee Lodge, No. 18 (Eng. Const.) 1722—1924.

Now the 200 years' life of the 'Old Dundee Lodge' can be conveniently divided into three periods, viz.:—

The first 20 years spent as a Lodge in the City of London.
The next 80 years spent at Wapping as a Sea-faring Lodge.
The last 100 years lived again as an old City Lodge.

And now for a short retrospect.

The records of Grand Lodge inform us that our ancient Brethren first met in 1722 at the 'Ship' Tavern in Bartholomew Lane, London, E.C., almost under the shadow of the Bank of England. In 1723 there were 22 members; the R.W. Master being a man of some note, viz.: Dr. Stephen Hall, Physician to Greenwich Hospital; here surely is evidence of a strong and vigorous Lodge, which leads to the belief that it had been in existence for some years past prior to 1722. In 1835 our Brethren presented a Memorial to the Duke of Sussex (the then G.M.) in which they stated that the Lodge had been "in continuous existence since 1721," and perhaps its origin even goes back to a still earlier date; at any rate we can honestly say that we are over 200 years old to-night.

The late Bro. Sadler (formerly Librarian to Grand Lodge) informs us that there are only four Lodges that have survived for 200 years without amalgamation or erasure, viz.:—(*a*) The British Lodge, No. 8; (*b*) The Westminster and Keystone Lodge, No. 10; (*c*) The Old Dundee Lodge, No. 18; (*d*) The Globe Lodge, No. 23.

Constituted on 27th March, 1723.

The Lodge was formally constituted, 200 years ago, on the 27th March, 1723, by (it is believed) the Duke of Wharton, the then Grand Master, who was always glad to avail himself of such opportunities. He was in London at the time, and was not likely to miss the opportunity of a good dinner with two or three bottles of wine as his own portion; unfortunately the Duke of Wharton turned out a reprobate, and died abroad at the early age of 33, as a result of his habits of excess; dishonoured and unsung; it is but fair to say that this is the only instance recorded of an unworthy Grand Master.

The name of the Lodge.

From 1722 to 1730 our meeting place was in the City of London, then our Brethren migrated to the 'Castle' Tavern, Drury Lane, but in 1739 a great change took place and the Lodge removed to Wapping, remaining there for a period of 80 years, until 1820. The name of the Lodge was derived from the Tavern at which it met in 1747, viz.: the 'Dundee Arms' Tavern, Wapping New Stairs; in 1763 our Brethren purchased a Freehold Warehouse in Red Lion Street, Wapping (now known as No. 20), and then they immediately described themselves as the 'Dundee Lodge,' No. 9, meeting "in their own private room"; I believe this is the only case known of an English Lodge owning its own freehold as early as 1763. As mentioned before, in 1835 Grand Lodge authorised that in future the name should be the 'Old Dundee' Lodge, which has been the title ever since. The 'Dundee Arms' Tavern took its name from the fact that various Captains and Mates of Sailing Vessels trading from Dundee to Wapping made regular use of this Inn as their favourite place of resort.

Life at Wapping (1739-1820).

From 1763 to 1820, our Brethren met in their own freehold premises in Red Lion Street, Wapping, and thus were "Masters in their own House"; (whilst other Lodges were meeting in Taverns); they sub-let the Ground Floor and basement, reserving the First Floor for the purposes of the Lodge. A smaller room which adjoined the large Lodge Room was used as a "Making Room" in which Candidates were 'Made' Masons from 1763 until about 1810; experts tell me that this was quite a novel feature; our large Lodge Room was chiefly used for the purpose of giving Masonic Instruction by means of Lectures, the general custom in those days. The Lodge always held allegiance under the regular Grand Lodge of England that was founded in 1717, and who constantly looked to our Brethren for support. For instance in 1773, G. L. elected our R.W.M. to act as a member of the "Committee for building the Freemasons' Hall," and in 1809 our Master for that year was elected a member of the "Lodge of Promulgation," which was formed specially for the purpose of "Ascertaining and Promulgating the Ancient Land Marks of the Craft"; this was the first step that led to the healing of the differences between the 'Moderns' and the 'Antients,' that culminated in the formation of the United Grand Lodge of England in 1813.

'Grand Stewards' in 1723 and 1724.

In 1723 and 1724 'Old Dundee' supplied two Stewards, being "Brethren of Ability and Capacity" to assist in preparing and providing the "Annual Feast" for the Grand Lodge in those days, so whilst No. 18 is not entitled to be described as a 'Red Apron' Lodge, yet it should be remembered that 200 years ago our members did 'suit and service' in thus assisting Grand Lodge; 12 years before the "Stewards' Lodge" first came into existence in 1735, so in a sense our claim to rank as "Past Grand Stewards" is older than that of the 19 Lodges who are now entitled to wear the *Red Collar*.

A few items of interest.

The First and Second Degrees were always given to the Candidates on the same night up to the year 1809, although in many other Lodges the custom of conferring the two degrees on separate occasions came into force at an earlier date. From 1760 to 1805 the Bye-Laws were in Manuscript, and bear the signatures of about 800 Members, who thereby indicated their acceptance of them. In 1749, Bro. Joseph Smith (a carpenter) presented the Lodge with a Bible (bound up with which is also the "Book of Common Prayer") which is still in regular use on the Altar before the W. Master; thus our Bible is 175 years old.

After 1748, the "Annual Feast" was held in the Country, the favourite resort being the 'Mermaid' Tavern, in the village of Hackney; 'Highbury Barn,' and other Taverns at Stratford, Blackwall, and Greenwich were also visited. The menus of 1748; 1749; 1753 and 1754 are still extant. In 1770 the following Resolution was passed, "That a Supper be provided every Lodge Night in the Next Room [*i.e.*, the 'Making Room'] and that each Bro. that sups pays 6d. each." 'Old Dundee' in 1810 for the first time appointed two Deacons, who from this date have always used as their Jewel, the symbol of 'Mercury'; the two silver Jewels of 'Mercury' now suspended to the Collars of our two Deacons were made by a Past Master in 1810 at a cost of £8 8s.

Visitors from Grand Lodge (1748-1814).

During our early years many visits were paid to us by Grand Officers; the Grand Secretary attending on us at Wapping in 1748; 1766; 1772 and 1814; whilst the R.W. Grand Master, Lord Blayney, paid the Lodge an official visit in state in 1766.

'Holy Royal Arch'

'Old Dundee' never officially performed this Degree as such, but there is strong evidence in favour of the suggestion that a similar ritual was worked in lieu thereof in our so-called "Masters' Lodges" (1754-69).

A great Maritime Lodge.

Wapping (where the Lodge met from 1739 to 1820) was at that period, as previously mentioned, virtually the 'Port of London,' many sailing vessels from all parts of the world lying at anchor in the 'Pool' waiting for return cargoes. As a result, many sea-faring men of all nationalities joined the Lodge, and a list printed in 1810 (the zenith of our prosperity) shows that in that year the 'Dundee Lodge,' No. 9, possessed 109 ordinary members and no less than 267 "Sea-Members." The Lodge has never indulged in "Country-Members," but still possesses its list of "Sea-Members."

Return to the City in 1820.

The Lodge left Wapping in 1820, and returned to the City of London after an absence of 80 years. We first met at the 'George and Vulture' Tavern, Cornhill (1820-26), and after spending 30 years at the 'London Tavern,' Bishopsgate Street, removed to Cannon Street Hotel in 1878, which has been our home now for the last 45 years. The freehold at Wapping was sold to the Roman Catholics in 1821, and was used by them for 75 years as a school; the building is still extant, and the old Lodge Room has been visited by myself and a few other members and photographs taken of it.

And now to discuss a few of the quaint manners and customs that helped to make up the Masonic life of our Ancestors, from say 1730 to the time of the

Union in 1813. Most of the stories come from the inner life of one of the oldest Lodges in the world, tenacious of its ancient customs which it refused to give up until actually compelled by circumstances beyond its control. For the sake of brevity, the Lodge in this essay will generally be described by the name and number it bore in those far off days, viz., the "Dundee Lodge," No. 9 (Eng. Const.).

An 18th Century Lodge

Its form and appearance.

It is of course impossible to dogmatise on this subject, but it is reasonable to believe that the following features were characteristic of an old Lodge of the 'Moderns'—of good standing—say from 1750 to 1800:—

1. The Lodge would be formed in the shape of a Triangle, the Master in the East, and the two Wardens in the West; the Triangle from the earliest times being held in high veneration by our Ancient Brethren, and was considered as representing the Deity. The symbol of the Triad still permeates the ritual of 'Holy Royal Arch,' the "Summit and Perfection" of Ancient Masonry.

Equilateral Triangle. "This as the most perfect of figures, was adopted by all the ancient nations as a symbol of the Deity. It still retains that allusion as an emblem of Freemasonry." See Mackey's *Lexicon of Freemasonry* (1845).

(The Triangular form of the Lodge yet holds good in a few Lodges in the U.S.A. that retain their foreign customs, one Lodge in Milwaukee still meeting in the form of a Triangle, observing what is said to be the 'Hamburg Working.' In several of the oldest Lodges in Scotland the R.W.M. is still placed in the East, whilst the two Wardens are situate in the West, the three Chief Officers thereby forming a Triangle. Some Danish and other Continental Lodges also continue this practice.)

2. An Altar of wood—generally painted white—was invariably situate in the centre of the Lodge Room, at which the Candidate was placed during a portion of the ceremony.

(In all Lodges in the U.S.A. the Altar is still placed in the centre of the Lodge Room, it being the practice there for the Master to leave his Chair to administer the Obligation to the Initiate, and from the method by which this is done, the expression '*Due Guard*' is derived. This old custom as to the position of the Altar has died out in most English Lodges—although retained in Lodges in Scotland—whilst the practice still survives in 'Holy Royal Arch,' which was originally worked as a 4th Degree by the 'Antients.')

3. During the ceremony of 'Making a Mason,' the picture of '*The Lodge*'—previously drawn by the Tyler on the floor in chalk and charcoal displaying the usual symbols of the Craft, including the two Ashlars—would be visible to all present; after the '*Making*' it was compulsory for the Candidate to obliterate this Drawing with the assistance of a Mop and Pail; on this picture of '*The Lodge*' it was also customary to place 3 Lighted Candles, arranged in the form of a Triangle.

('Drawing the Lodge' on the floor in chalk and charcoal has now long been obsolete, having been superseded first by a Tracing Cloth and later on by the modern Tracing Board. In certain old Lodges in England the three Lighted Candles are however still arranged round the Tracing Board, and they are also similarly placed—so as to form a Triangle round the Altar—on the floor of Lodges in the U.S.A.)

4. Two large and imposing wooden Columns, representing the two Masonic Pillars, would stand upright before the chairs of the two Wardens.

(The practice of thus arranging the two Columns in the West still exists in certain Lodges in England, and is also a constant feature of Lodges in America.)

5. Two large Globes 'Celestial' and 'Terrestrial' would also be present in the Lodge, thus proving '*Masonry Universal.*'

(This custom still exists in certain Lodges in England. Interesting specimens can yet be seen in one of the premier Lodges of Instruction in London, but as a rule the two Globes are now generally placed as an ornament on the top of the Wardens' columns.)

6. The Master when in open Lodge, always wore his three-cornered cocked hat—later on the usual conventional silk hat—which was only removed as an act of veneration during a prayer.

(The Master still invariably wears his hat during the ceremonies in Lodges in the United States, also in certain Continental Lodges, whilst at least one old Provincial Lodge in England yet retains this interesting custom. Bro. Welsford, P.A.G.St.B., informs me that an old three-cornered cocked hat—formerly used as a Master's hat—is still kept as a curio—with many others—in a Masonic Hall in one of the Provinces.)

7.—In certain Lodges—the 'Dundee Lodge,' No. 9, for one—a large '*Flaming Sword*' fixed by the hilt in a suitable stand was placed in front of the R.W.M.—or else by his side—as a symbol of his absolute authority to "Rule his Lodge."

(A specimen of the uplifted 'Flaming Sword' can still be seen, fixed in a wooden stand besides the Master's chair during the ceremonies in an old Lodge in Yorkshire, whilst the original Sword used by the 'Dundee Lodge,' No. 9, at Wapping in 1761 is also preserved as a valued Masonic relic of our ancient past. I learn also from Bro. Welsford that in 1923, two 'Flaming Swords'—with naked blades fixed upright side-by-side on a stand—were placed near to the Master's chair during the working of the ceremonies in two old Lodges in the North of England; clearly relics from the days of old.)

8. A number of large '*Common*' Aprons—made of white lambskin—were kept by the Tyler for the use of Members and Visitors; the same pattern being used for Ent. Appr.; Fellow Craft; and Master Mason.

(The custom of providing 'plain aprons' for Brethren and Visitors is still observed in American Lodges, such Aprons being uniform in size and material, the same pattern being used for a Master Mason as for an Entered Apprentice, the only distinction being the manner in which the Apron is worn, whilst at least one Lodge in London also offers the same facilities for the use of Visiting Brethren.)

9. After the actual ceremony was over, portable Tables—with trestles—were set out in the Lodge Room round which the Members sat drinking and smoking—sometimes also eating—whilst the Lectures were being worked. Fruit, such as oranges, apples, &c., were regularly supplied in a good Lodge, having been previously purchased by the Tyler.

(This custom of sitting round the Tables in open Lodge—the Brethren drinking and smoking—is now quite obsolete and not found in any Lodge in the world.)

10. The officers of the Lodge consisted of a R.W.M.; S.W.; J.W.; Treasurer, Secretary, and a Tyler—the Master who had just vacated the Chair being described as the *Past Master* for the year. There were no Deacons in the 'Dundee Lodge,' No. 9, till 1810, and up to 1834 there was no mention of an Inner Guard. Some Lodges had an 'Orator'—usually a skilled P.M.—who is perhaps now represented by the Chaplain.

(I am informed that—speaking generally—Lodges in the U.S.A. do not yet appoint an "I.G.," his duties being performed by the "J.D." A Brother recently returned from a voyage round the world told me that in 1923 he visited certain Lodges abroad that also still appoint no "I.G.," the "J.D." acting as such—here is clearly a relic of an old custom—originally the Senior

Entered 'Prentice officiated as *Door-Keeper.* It would be interesting to learn the date or period when the office of 'Inner Guard' was first created and by whom? American Lodges—as a rule—do not now appoint an 'Orator,' this office however yet exists in the Grand Lodges of the U.S.A. In Scotland the Master is still described as R.W.M.)

11. The *Candidate*—as his name implies—was often robed in a White Gown—a symbol of purity and innocence, a feature always found in the ceremony of Initiation into the Ancient Mysteries.

('Gowns' and 'Drawers' are frequently referred to in the Inventories of various old Lodges.)

(The writer feels personally indebted to Bro. Robert I. Clegg, Editor-in-Chief of the Masonic History Co. of Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A., for collaboration and confirmation as to certain aspects of present day procedure in American Lodges. The names of certain Lodges referred to in this section are intentionally omitted.)

The Tyler in the 18th Century.

In olden days the Tyler was a far more important person than in 1924, it being his duty not only to issue the '*Letters*' or 'Summonses,' but also to deliver them personally to the Members at their addresses, and in addition to include in such 'Letters' any notice requiring their special attention, a service that now would be performed by the Secretary of the Lodge. A thousand 'Summonses' would be printed at a time, with the date left blank, to be filled in by the Tyler as required. The most important task however he had to perform was to 'Draw the Lodge on the Floor' at a *Making*, this implied some fair amount of skill and education—in 1794 we appointed a Mathematical Instrument Maker to act as Tyler—he also had to keep the Tyler's attendance book, make various purchases for the 'Use of the Lodge,' and be careful not to admit *Spurious Masons*, a somewhat difficult task when 'Antient' Masons were not admissible to a 'Modern' Lodge.

A few extracts from the records of Lodge, No. 9.

		£.	s.	d.
1748, July 14.	"Pd. Porterage of Letters to Midsummer"		4.	0
1756, Mch. 25.	"Pd. Bro. Bowler [Tyler] for Carrying Letters this Quarter"		6.	0
1752, Feb. 13.	"Pd. Benj. Cole for 500 Prints and *altering Plate*"		16.	0
1755, Oct. 3.	"Pd. for Wafers, 100 the size of a Crown"		1.	6
	(To affix to our 'Summonses,' envelopes being then quite unknown.)			
Nov. 13.	"Pd. for 100 Best Wafers and a Box"		1.	4
1768, July 14.	"Pd. Bro. Matthews [Tyler] his Salary, including 1000 Summonses"	4.	0.	3
1779, Nov. 25.	"Pd. for Printing 1000 Quarto *Letters*"	1.	2.	0
1787, Mch. 8.	"Pd. for 1000 *Lodge Letters*"	1.	10.	0

1775, Sept. 14. "An Election of a Tyler to come on next Lodge Night, and to be *Inserted in the Letters to Members*"

1780, Dec. 14. "Next Night being Election Night, Ordered that the *Tyler* issue Summonses for the same"

1787, July 12. "The next Lodge Night being Election Night, the *Tyler* was desired to Intimate the same to the Members of this Lodge"

1793, Dec. 12. "The Treasurer desired George Mills [the Tyler] to *Notice in the Summons* that every Brother who had any demands on the Lodge to send an Account by next Lodge Night"

1795, Dec. 10. "Next Lodge being Election Night, the *Tyler had orders* to Insert the same into the Notice"

"Seating of the Wardens" (1809).

The Triangular Form of Lodge.

The evidence that in many Lodges this was the old practice is fairly conclusive:—Note the following extract from—

Prichard's *Masonry Disected* (1730).

Q. "Where stands your Master?"
A. "In the East."

Q. "Where stands the Senior enter'd Prentice?"
A. "In the South."

Q. "Where stand your Wardens?"
A. "*In the West.*"

From various old illustrations and information contained in certain French rituals it is obvious that the position of the Master's and Wardens' Chairs in open Lodge in former days was different from our present practice. Then the R.W.M. was placed—as now—in the East, and the S.W. and J.W. were *both situated in the West*, thus forming a Triangle in the Lodge. It will be remembered that in 1809, almost the first point to be decided by the "Lodge of Promulgation" was the "*Seating of the Wardens*," and it is fairly clear that the present arrangement of our Lodges dates chiefly from the decision then taken. The 'Dundee Lodge,' No. 9, being wedded to her ancient customs, doubtless was still meeting in the form of a Triangle up to say 1813, when—to comply with the requests put forward by the 'Antients'—we altered the form of our Lodge, and for the first time placed our J.W. in the South; this is apparent from a strong objection raised to the new practice by one of our old Past Masters, who was 'Made a Mason' in No. 9 in 1790—refused to be Re-Obligated in 1810, and ultimately resigned his membership in 1816 stating that he was "*not comfortable.*"

Extracts from the Minutes.

1810, Feb. 8. "Present the following Brothers, who were *Newly Obligated.*"
(Here follows a list of 43 Members of the 'Dundee Lodge,' No. 9, and also the names of Bros. John Penney and James Mills, our Upper and Under Tylers.)

A Past Master refuses (1810).

1810, March 8. "The R.W. Master [Bro. John Walton, a member of the Lodge of Promulgation] having tendered the Bible to Br. Clark Stanley [I. in 1790, W.M. in 1798 & 1807] to be Re-Obligated, *which he refused*, the R.W. Master was therefore obliged to adjourn the closing of the Lodge to the Adjoining Room." (This was our 'Making Room.')

1815, Dec. 14. "A Letter was this Night read from Br. Clark Stanley, P.M., stating that in consequence of his not being of late as comfortable when he attended the Lodge (*on account of the alteration in the Lodge owing to the New System since the Union*), he had not attended his Masonic Duty, &c., &c."

(Having been a loyal member of the Lodge for 25 years, acting once as Secretary, twice as R.W.M., and having witnessed for so long the ceremonies performed in accordance with our ancient customs and practice, this old Mason—by profession a carpenter and builder—felt he was too old to change his principles and views merely to oblige the 'Antients,' whom he had always been taught to disdain and to consider as *Irregular Masons*, and although various letters were written to him by the Secretary, he did not reply, and eventually resigned in 1816.)

Eating, Drinking and Smoking in Lodge.

The Brethren seated at the Tables (1749—1813).

Now up to 1763 our Brethren met at Taverns and were allowed then not only to smoke in open Lodge, but also to eat and drink—porter being the favourite beverage in their early days—light refreshments would also be supplied, most likely bread and cheese and sandwiches, as only one dinner a year was allowed; viz.—the *Annual Feast.* When however the Lodge—improved in status—gave up their old Tavern life and removed in 1763 to their own Freehold building, No. 20, Red Lion Street, Wapping, London, E., a higher tone was introduced into their proceedings, and they resolved that in future "there be no eating in the [new] Lodge Room, nor Drinking Porter," wine and punch being now regularly provided. As previously mentioned, in 1770 a supper at 6d. per head was provided in the room adjoining the Lodge Room (*i.e.*, the *Making Room*).

It is easy to reconstruct the scene, tables were purchased in 1749—having six leaves—which were set out on Tressels in the middle of the Lodge; at first the Brethren were seated on chairs at these tables, but as the membership increased forms were provided in place of the chairs as being more convenient.

As our Lodge Room from 1763 to 1820 was 44 feet long, by 25 feet wide and 15 feet high, there was plenty of room available for these tables; thirty yards of bordered green cloth were purchased to cover them with, and on these tables were placed the bowls of steamning punch, bottles of wine, rum, Hollands, brandy, sugar, lemons, nutmegs and glasses, whilst for the smokers *Churchwardens*, screws of tobacco (called 'papers'), and pipe lights were supplied, it being remembered that smoking and drinking were also allowed in Grand Lodge itself, for many years right up to 1755.

(*Note.*—The Book of Constitutions, 1756, states:—'Carnarvon, Grand Master. Dec. 4, 1755. "It was unanimously agreed That no Brother for the future shall smoak Tobacco in the Grand Lodge at the Quarterly Communication, or Committee of Charity, till the Lodge shall be closed." ')

Working 'The Lectures.'

When the ceremonial work in the Lodge was concluded, the middle of the room was cleared and these portable tables were then set out, the baize cloth having been laid the R.W. Master would take his place at the head with the 'V.S.L.' open before him with the usual symbols displayed—the Senr. Warden being at the end of the table. The wine was then served, the 'Churchwardens' handed out with the necessary 'papers' of tobacco; and the punch having been prepared, *Firing Glasses* would be supplied to the members and visitors for use during the various toasts and *Charges.*

As lucifer matches were not invented until the beginning of the 19th Century, the Brethren would have to light their clay pipes from the small candles placed for illumination on the table, spills of paper being used for that purpose. When everything was in order and the Brethren seated, the Lectures would commence and the R.W. Master put his various questions chiefly addressed to the Senr. Warden, sometimes also to the Junr. Warden, which latter however generally related to the Tyling of the Lodge, the care and examination of visitors, for we had no Inner Guard in those days, and did not appoint any Deacons until 1810, thus extra duties would necessarily fall upon the Junior Warden.

Sometimes a circular method of putting the questions was adopted and the queries went round the Table, each Bro. in turn being invited to reply. In 1764 we first appointed two Stewards to assist with the drinks &c., and on their two quaint Silver Jewels, made specially for them in that year and still in use in the Lodge, these words are engraved:—

Punch, Wine, Tobacco, without limitation.

It was customary also for the Tyler to purchase Fruit for the Members—the Lodge meeting fortnightly on alternate Thursdays—regular payments to the Tyler for 'Fruit' varying from 7s. 6d. to 15s. 0d. constantly appearing in the Cash books. Apples, oranges and nuts would be supplied according to the season; fancy in the intervals between the Questions and Answers in these Masonic Lectures, one of our swarthy Sea-Members—perhaps a Foreigner wearing a pig-tail—fresh from a long sea-voyage, with face tanned by the sun in far off seas, full of fun, having eaten his orange, throwing the peel at members sitting opposite him at the table—for in those days horse-play and exciting scenes often occurred—this is apparent from the Bye-Laws of that period, for in 1764 we had to deal with such troubles and enacted that "Any Brother who is a Member of This Lodge shall . . . Make Good All Damage that he may Do or Cause to be Done to any of the Furniture," etc.

The following Extract from a Ritual, attributed to the 'Antients' throws light on some of the procedure in an old Lodge of the period under discussion:—

Three Distinct Knocks (circa 1760).

"Then *a Table* is put in the Place where this Figure was [this refers to the 'Drawing of the Lodge' on the Floor with chalk and charcoal, which had just been rubbed out by the Candidate, with the assistance of the Mop and Pail], and they all sit round it, but every Man sitteth in the same place as he stood before the Figure was washed out, viz.: the Master in the East, *the Senior Warden in the West*, &c.

Every Man has a Glass set him, and a large Bowl of Punch, or what they like, is set out in the Center of the Table; and the Senior Deacon charges (as they call it) in the North and East, and the Junior Deacon in the South and West, for it is their Duty so to do, i.e. to fill all the Glasses. Then the Master takes up his Glass, and gives a Toast to the King and the Craft, with *Three Times Three* in the Prentice's, and they all say Ditto, and drink all together minding the Master's Motion. They do the same with the empty Glass that he doth, that is, he draws it a-cross his Throat three times . . . and then makes Three offers to put it down, at the Third, they all set their Glasses down together, which they call '*firing*': Then they hold the Left-hand Breast-high, and clap Nine Times with the Right, their Foot going at the same time: When this done they all sit down."

An excellent rehearsal of the 'Drawing of the Lodge' on the floor in chalk, the Brethren subsequently seated round the Table 'working' a Masonic Lecture, was given at Bath in 1923 during the Summer Outing of the 'Quatuor Coronati Lodge,' No. 2076.

Extracts from the Minutes of No. 9 (at Wapping).

1749, May 25. "Convenient Tables to be provided for the Use of the Lodge."
do. July 27. "Six Leaves for the Tables, with Tressels ordered."
do. "Pd. Bro. Joseph Smith [P.M., a carpenter] for Tables, etc." £6. 11. 0
(*Note.*—The same Bro. who gave the Lodge a Bible, with Prayer Book combined in 1749.)

1753, Oct. 25. "Forms in the room of the Chairs in the Middle of the Lodge to be provided."
1754, Nov. 28. "Bro. Inglis made Ye Lodge a present of a China Punch Bowl."
1763, Oct. 13. Resolved "That there be no eating in the [new] Lodge Room, nor Drinking Porter."
1767, Apl. 23. Resolved "That for the Future the Brethren of this Lodge should assist the R.W.M. when he returns thanks for Drinking his Health, carried Nem. Con."

(*Note.*—The renowned Bro. *Thomas Dunckerley*, a joining member of the 'Dundee Lodge,' No. 9, proposed this resolution.)

1770, Apl. 26. Resolved "That a Supper be provided every Lodge Night in the Next Room [*i.e.*, the *Making Room*] and that each Bro. that sups pay 6d. each."

1773, Dec. 9. "Bro. Jones proposed having New Cloths for the Tables and that Br. Maddox provide the same, seconded & carried Nem. Con.—Br. Curtis proposed that the Tyler should have the Old Cloths, Sec^{d}. and Carried, Nem. Con."

Three Times Three (1788).

1788, Oct. 23. "The Members of the Dundee Lodge having this Night been presented with an Elegant China Bowl (decorated with The Emblems of Masonry) by Br. Baverstock, they returned him Publick and Sincere Thanks by Drinking his Health with *Three Times Three*."

(*Note*.—Doubtless this Punch Bowl was constantly filled this Night and as often emptied, 30 Brethren being present. Is there not here a reference to an expression sometimes heard in these days:—*Good Fire, Brethren*?—mark the words 'Three Times Three' used in 1788. The custom of Firing with 'Three Times Three' is still observed in Lodges in Denmark, Sweden and certain other Continental Lodges.)

Eleven Bowls presented to the Lodge (1802).

1802, Aug. 12. "The Thanks of the Lodge was given to Br. John Campbell for Eleven Handsome Bowls which he has kindly presented to this Lodge; thanks were also given to Mr. Thompson for the great care he took of the same."

do. Sept. 9. "M^{r}. William Thompson was this Night Balloted and Accepted, and on a/c of his going a Voyage was Initiated into the Three Degrees of Masonry, and for his Care in bringing over the Bowls presented to the Lodge by Br. John Campbell was Made *Free of the Lodge*."

do. Sept. 9. "Pd. Cash to M^{r}. Thompson for the Bowls" £5. 5. 0 (For Freight &c.).

(*Note*.—Br. John Campbell was a Sea-Member, and had sent these Bowls from India under the care of Mr. Thompson.—Fancy, eleven punch bowls at work!!)

Extracts from the Cash Books of No. 9.

		£.	s.	d
1762,	"Pd. Br. Dobbie for 4 China Bowls for this Lodge"	5.	0.	0
1763.	"Pd. Br. Maddon for Lemons"	1.	15.	0
do.	"Pd. do. for Nutmegs"		2.	1
1764, July 26.	"Pd. for Fruit"		15.	6
Sept. 14.	"Pd. for Washing the Cloaths"		8.	0
1765, Mch. 18.	"Pd. Bro. Hubbard for Table Cloths, &c."		14.	9
1767.	"Pd. for 12 China Bowls"	1.	16.	0
1768.	"Pd. for Lemons and Oranges"		15.	6
1772.	"Pd. for 2 Cork Screws"		2.	6
	"Pd. for 2 Doz Knives and Forks"		8.	0
1788.	"A Copper Tea Kettle"		15.	0
	(To make hot water for the Punch.)			
1790.	"Table Cloth for the Use of the Lodge"		14.	6
	"30½ yds Bordered Green Cloth *for the Lodge Tables*"	5.	6.	6
1793.	"3 Nutmeg Graters"			6
1796.	"Pd for 41 Glasses"		15.	0
1801.	"Green Cloth *for the Tables*"	5.	19.	9
1815, May 11.	"Pd for 2 Dozen Knives and Forks"	1.	6.	0

There were likewise numerous and substantial payments continually made by our Treasurer for Wine, Rum, Hollands (Geneva), Brandy, and *Licquors*, also for Punch Bowls and repairs to same. Constant and repeated purchases also appear for Sugar, Lemons and Nutmegs; one can almost smell the appetising aroma arising from the bowls of steaming Punch when the Brethren were seated at the Tables; the *Firing Glasses*—each containing a ladleful of Punch—being much in evidence during the many Toasts and various *Charges* which in those far off days were regularly given by the R.W. Master during the working of the 'Masonic Lectures.'

Various songs were also given, the favourite being the "*Enter'd 'Prentices Song*"; others were "The Master's Song," the "Warden's Song" and "Fellow Crafts Song," &c.

(*Note.*—These songs were all regularly printed in the *Book of Constitutions*, our copy of the 3rd Edition—purchased by us in 1755—is still extant, and the wine stained pages, full of thumb marks, and showing signs of much wear, give ocular proof that our R.W.M. for many years from 1756 frequently used this identical book when assisting in singing these songs in open Lodge.)

1755, Aug. 28. "A Motion was made and Seconded That the New Constitution Book be Purchased for the Use of this Lodge."		
1755, Dec. 11. "Paid Bro. Dormer [P.M.] his Subscription for the New Constitution Book"	s. 10.	d 0
1756, Aug. 26. "Paid for binding the Constitution Book"	3.	0

2 Pipes of Port (1807 and 1810).

It was the custom from 1750 to 1820 to give out all orders for wine and other articles required by the Lodge to various members—who charged high prices and in some cases gave inferior quality.

Extract from the Minutes of No. 9.

1810, Oct. 25. "On account of the Indifferent Wine the Lodge had been supplied with for some time past, the R.W.M. and Treasurer were directed to buy a Pipe of Wine for the Use of the Lodge."

Extracts from the Cash Book.

	£.	s.	d
1807, Aug. "Pd Bro. F. Simson for his expenses attending one afternoon at the London Coffee House [at Ludgate Hill] when the Pipe of Wine was bottled and the Corks sealed by him"		10.	6
"By Cash paid Leech & Dellamore, of the London Coffee House, in full for *a Pipe of Superior Old Port of the Vintage of 1802*"	115.	0	0
"Cash paid them also for Bottling, Corks, Wax, and for 2 Cellarmen binning it *in the Lodge Cellars*"	2.	2.	0
"Pd. Carting same, Sawdust and Laths"	—	—	—
1810, Dec. 27. "By Cash paid Messrs. Aislabee, Eade and Standing in full for a Pipe of Old Port Wine"	120.	0.	0
Dec. 27. "By Cash paid for 52 Dozen Bottles, Corks, etc"	11.	16.	0
do. "By Cash received from Aislabee, Eade & Standing for 36 Doz. Empty Bottles [3^{d}. a Bottle]	5.	8.	0

(*Note.*—A Pipe of port equals about 58 dozen of wine. A visit to our ancient cellars at 20, Red Lion Street, Wapping, was made in 1918 by the writer and three other members of the 'Old Dundee' Lodge, No. 18; and at the suggestion of a Grand Officer, one of the party, a careful search was made while we were down in the vaults, in the hope that our ancient Brethren when they left the building in 1820, might perchance have left behind a bottle of this vintage port, but alas no discovery was made that was deemed of importance and the search proved vain.)

"Drawing the Lodge."

"Framing the Lodge."

"Forming the Lodge" (1748-1812).

These expressions constantly occur in the Cash books of the 'Dundee Lodge,' No. 9, at Wapping, from 1748 to 1812, and refer to payments made by our Treasurer to the Tyler for the above special items of work. In those days the Tracing Board—as we understand it—was practically unknown in most Lodges (the date of the earliest specimen appears to be about the year 1790), and as the Ritual worked by the Moderns was rather crude and curtailed—No. 9 having no Deacons until 1810, which almost implies that there was no definite perambulation of the Lodge by the Candidate prior to that date,—the only practical method of imparting real Masonic instruction to the Brethren was by means of the Lectures.

It was also found by experience that when the Candidate was 'Made a Mason,' the best method to impress upon his mind and memory the salient truths of the Craft, was by the use of Masonic Symbols and Emblems delineated with *Chalk and Charcoal* on the floor of the room in which the ceremony was performed, and in this way the practice arose of *Drawing the Lodge.* The Symbols, etc., having been carefully explained to the Candidate (who had previously taken the required 'Obligation'), he was handed a pail of water, together with a *Mop,* and compelled to rub out this 'Drawing on the Floor,' so that no 'Cowan' or intruder might perchance learn our Ancient Mysteries or Secrets.—And so we find in Lodge No. 9 at Wapping this custom was regularly observed at a 'Making' from 1748 (doubtless earlier still but our existing Minute Books only commence then) right up to 1812, when certain modifications of the Ritual discussed and agreed upon by the Lodge of Promulgation (1809-1811), and the general introduction of the Tracing Board (or Tracing Sheet) caused us to cease our old practice.

The Tressell Board (1754).

In former years we also used a Tressell Board which was clearly the forerunner of our modern Tracing Board, but in 1782 we gave our old one to our Tylers, as we no longer needed it, for I think we then began also to use a Tracing Sheet, for in 1781 we purchased a "Linnen Cloth," and this certainly was not required for the Lodge's domestic purposes.

Extracts from the Minutes.

1754, Aug. 8. "This Night a Motion was Made That *the Tressel Board* be New Painted; it was carried in the Affirmative; Nem. Con."

(Evidently our Board had been in use for many years and needed renovating.)

1781, Sept. 13. "Pd M^r^. Evans in full for *Linnen Cloth,* 12^s^. 0^d^."

1782, Oct. 24. "Bro. Thos. Martyn [W.M. in 1775] proposed That the Tylers should have the Old Trussel Board which was Seconded and Carried."

It was the Tyler's duty thus to 'Draw the Lodge on the Floor' with *Chalk and Charcoal,* and he received a special fee for doing this, over and above the Annual Salary paid to him for his services of 'Tyling.'

The *Mop* and *Pail.*

The Tyler also purchased the necessary Mops and Pails, for which he also received separate payment, it being a matter absolutely within his province.

The "Mysterious Picture."

The design thus drawn by the Tyler upon the floor in chalk and charcoal was in the form of an oblong square, representing a Building with various Masonic Emblems. The chief items thus delineated were the two Columns; Seven Steps; Laced Tuft; Flaming Star with the letter "G"; the Square; Plumb Rule, and Level; these were all carefully depicted in black and white, the floor often having been previously *whitened* to form a suitable background. This feature of the work is referred to in the History of the Shakespear Lodge, No. 99, by Bro. Ebblewhite, P.G.D., who tells us on page 36 that the following purchases were made:—

1773, Dec. 8. "A Lodge Board," 16s.

1774, Jan. 26. "Whiting Box and Penknife," £1. 1. 6.

From certain so called exposures the following confirmatory information can be obtained:—

Jachin and Boaz (1764).

(Containing a circumstantial account of all the proceedings in 'Making a Mason,' with the several obligations of an Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft and Master, and also the Sign, Grip, Password and Lecture of each Degree, with the ceremony of *The Mop and Pail.* By a Gentleman belonging to the Jerusalem Lodge: 5th Edition. 1764.)

Extract *re* 'Mop and Pail.'

"The Candidate is also learnt the Step, or how to advance to the Master upon *the Drawing on the Floor,* which in some Lodges resembles the Grand Building, termed a Mosaic Palace, and is described with the utmost Exactness. They also draw other Figures, one of which is called the Laced Tuft, and other the Throne beset with Stars. There is also represented a perpendicular Line in the Form of a Mason's Instrument, commonly called the Plumb-Line; and another Figure which represents the Tomb of Hiram, the First Grand Master, who has been dead almost Three Thousand Years. These are all explained to him in the most accurate Manner, and the Ornaments or Emblems of the Order are described with great Facility. The Ceremony being now ended, the new-made Member is obliged *to take a Mop out of a Pail of Water* brought for that purpose, and rub out the Drawing on the Floor, if it is done with Chalk and Charcoal."

The Three Distinct Knocks (circa 1760).

Extract *re* 'Mop and Pail.'

"The Explanation of the following figure, which is all the Drawing that is used in this Sort of Masonry, called *the Most Antient by the Irishmen.* It is generally done with Chalk or Charcoal on the Floor, that is the Reason that they want a Mop and Pail as often as they do: for when a Man has been Made a Mason, they wash it out; but People have taken Notice and made game of them about the *Mop and Pail;* so some Lodges use Tape and little Nails to form the same thing, and so keep the World more ignorant of the Matter. This Plan is drawn on the Floor, East and West." . . . "All this Figure is washed out with a Mop as aforesaid, as soon as he [the Candidate] has received the Obligation."

It is interesting thus to read what some of these so-called exposures suggest took place in certain Lodges over 150 years ago. From *Jachin and Boaz* (the version of the Moderns), after the Candidate had thus used the 'Mop and Pail,' we read:—

"Then he is conducted back and everything he was divested of is restored, and he takes his Seat on the Right Hand of the Master. He also receives an Apron which he puts on, and the List of Lodges is likewise given him."

From *The Three Distinct Knocks* (the version of the Antients) we read:—

"The Master stands in the East with the Square about his Neck, and the Bible before him, which he takes up and walks forward to the West, near the First Step of an oblong Square, where he Kneels down in order to give that Solemn Obligation to him that has already Knelt down with his Left Knee bare, bent upon the First Step; his Right foot forms a square, with his naked Right hand upon the Holy Bible, etc. And so to the 2nd and 3rd Degree of Masonry; as is shown upon the Steps."

And in both these so-called exposures we read a statement purporting to be made by the Initiate:—

"He [the S.W.] taught me to take one Step upon the First Step of a right angle oblong square, with my Left Knee bare bent, my Body upright, my Right Foot forming a Square, my naked Right Hand upon the Holy Bible with the Square and Compass thereon, my Left Hand supporting the same; where I took that solemn Obligation or Oath of a Mason."

Metal Templates and Tape used.

Now it could not have been an easy task thus to draw—with chalk and charcoal—straight and accurate lines for these Masonic designs, hence it was a custom sometimes to use templates, made of tin, cut to the shape of the object required to be delineated; this would save the Tyler much time and produce better results; hence I think we get the expression of *Framing the Lodge.*

1754, Sept. 12. "Pd. Bro. Cook's Bill for Tin Work," £1. 7. 6.

(*Note.*—As our Brethren then met fortnightly in a room at the 'Dundee Arms Tavern,' Wapping, they were not bound to provide any 'Tin Work' for the building or premises; hence it is a fair inference that this item refers to Templates made of Tin for the purpose indicated above.)

The late Bro. Henry Sadler (P.M. 2076), in his inaugural address as Master in 1911, gave the following quotation from a newspaper published in 1726:—

"*Antediluvian Masonry*"

"shewing what Innovations have lately [*i.e.*, in 1726] been introduced by the Doctor [viz., Dr. Desaguliers] and some other of the *Moderns*, with their *Tape*, Jacks [? Tacks], Moveable letters, Blazing Stars &c *to the great indignity of the Mop and Pail.*"

Here is a clear reference to the antiquity of the custom we are now discussing, proving that some Tylers in 1726 objected to the tedious work of 'Drawing the Lodge' so often in chalk and charcoal and resorted to the easier method of using Tape and little tacks; see the item in this section later on showing that Br. Judd, a temporary Tyler when officiating at our Lodge on 15th Oct. 1810 purchased 6 yards of Tape for this purpose for which he charged our Treasurer 6d. The writer feels indebted to Bro. J. E. Shum Tuckett, P.M. 2076, for calling attention to the above reference, which also clearly proves that Laurence Dermott, the sarcastic Secretary to the Antients did *not* invent the expression 'The Moderns' as it was clearly known and used in 1726, long before his time.

"Jamaica Rum." "Barbadoes Rum" (1764).

In *Ahiman Rezon* (1764) this same Laurence Dermott who loved to hold up his opponents to ridicule, when referring to the 'Dundee Lodge,' No. 9, at Wapping—although their name was not mentioned—indulged in this diatribe:—

"Nor is it uncommon for a Tyler to receive ten or twelve shillings for drawing *Two Sign Posts* with chalk, etc, and writing *Jamaica Rum* upon one, and *Barbadoes Rum* upon the other; and all this (I suppose) for no other use than to distinguish where these liquors are to be placed in the Lodge."

Here is a nasty gibe against the Moderns, as indirectly he is referring—with contumely—to the practice of our Tyler 'Drawing on the Floor' of *our Lodge* emblems of the two Columns, placed in the position as sanctioned by the Moderns; an interesting item showing the hostile feeling existing in those days between the Moderns and the Antients; it almost hints as if the Antients were not in the habit themselves in 1764 of thus 'Drawing the Lodge on the Floor,' perhaps by this date they were using a Tracing Cloth for the purpose of displaying the Masonic symbols when working the Ceremonies in their own Lodges.

That this ceremony of 'Drawing the Lodge' was certainly practised by the 'Dundee Lodge,' No. 9, at Wapping from 1748 to 1812 is clearly shown by the following extracts taken from the Cash books of the Lodge; there are hundreds of similar items; an endeavour has been made to select a fair sample by way of illustration. In 1748 the usual fee for 'Tyling' was apparently 1^s. 6^d., and the Tyler then only received an extra 6d. for 'Drawing the Lodge,' making a total payment of 2^s.; this amount was soon increased to 2^s. 2^d.; this extra 2d. is odd, and suggests a payment for 'Chalk and Charcoal'; whilst in 1795 the fee was finally fixed at 2^s. 6^d. for each 'Making.'

The Tyler's Salary (1781).

In 1781 the Tyler was receiving—for performing the usual duties of Tyling—a salary of £12 a year, payable quarterly; but in addition he still received this special 'Tyler's fee' of 2^s. 2^d. for 'Drawing the Lodge' on the floor. In 1771 it was suggested that he should be content with a fee of 1^s. 6^d. "*according to the custom of other Lodges*," but I do not think the proposal was carried into effect. In 1795 the 'Making Fee' of £3. 10. 0 was increased to £3. 13. 6, and out of the extra 3^s. 6^d. the Treasurer for the future—right up to 1812—regularly paid the Tyler a special fee for 'Drawing the Lodge,' which was now raised to 2^s. 6^d.; so that if there were six Initiates on the same night, he paid the Tyler 15^s. 0^d. (2^s. 6^d. for each 'Making'); one assumes that on such occasions only a portion of the 'Drawing' would be wiped out by the Candidate with the Mop and Pail to save time in re-drawing the design, or most likely it was the custom for the last of the Initiates to rub out the entire drawing; in that event the 6 Candidates would have to be present together during the ceremony.

Various expressions used.

The above payments were described in different terms, viz.:—

		s.	d
1748.	"Paid Tyler"	2.	0
1749.	" do *Tyler and Drawer*"	2.	0
1789.	" do Tyler's Fees"	2.	2
1795.	" do Tyler's Fees for 4 Makings"	10.	0

The description of the special work done by the Tyler also varied:—

1795 "Framing and Forming the Lodge" . . . "Framing, etc" . . .
"Forming the Lodge" . . .

1799 "Forming Ye Lodge for 3 Makings"

Use of the *Making Room.*

This 'Drawing of the Lodge' took place on the floor of our 'Making Room,' a smaller room adjoining the large Lodge Room, for it was in this 'Making Room' that the 'Dundee Lodge,' No. 9, *Made Masons* and performed the secrets of our Ritual; the expression the 'Making Room' constantly occurs in our records. The Lodge Room still exists on the first floor of No. 20 (formerly No. 14) Red Lion Street, Wapping, London, E., and as previously stated is about 44ft. long by 25ft. wide and 15ft. high; the 'Making Room' also extant in 1924 is about 18ft. long by 15ft. wide and 10ft. high. Photographs of these rooms have been taken and visits to same made by the writer and several other Brethren.

Extracts from the Minutes.

1765, Sept. 12. Resolved "That our old Tyler, Bro. Lee, be allowed 2^s. 6^d. per week during his Illness, out of the Money of this Lodge"; also "Bro. Clear [Upper Tyler] proposed That during Bro. Lee's Illness, to give Bro. Lee All the money arising from Makings and Raisings on Publick Lodge Nights."

1771, Dec. 26. "Br. Campbell proposed That the Forming of a Lodge for the Future should be stipulated at Eighteen Pence *according to the custom of other Lodges;* 2nd. and carried."

1794, Sept. 25. Resolved "That every Brother Made in this Lodge in Future pay the sum of £3. 13. 6, and the Treasurer is to pay *the Tyler's Fees.*"

Extracts from Treasurer's Books

re *Drawing the Lodge.*

		s.	d
1748, July 28.	"Paid Tyler etc"	2.	0
1749, Jan. 11.	" do Tyler and Drawer"	2.	0
1750, Dec. 13.	"Pd Tyler for Attending on Extra Night"	1.	6
1753, July 26.	"Pd Tyler for Y^e 19th. inst being a Bye Night"	1.	6
1757, Mch. 10.	"Pd Tyler and Drawer"	2.	0
1758, Aug. 13.	"Tyler 2^s. 2^d." "Porter" 4^d.	2.	6
1764, Feb. 27.	"Pd Cash to the Tyler"	2.	2

(Now this 2^d. could not be for his drink, for at that time we met in our own Freehold and our wine and beer were kept on the premises,—as we then had our own wine cellars—so the Tyler could easily get his share without having to go out to a Tavern, most likely therefore the 2^d. was to pay for the chalk and charcoal supplied by the Tyler.)

		£.	s.	d
1772, July 9.	"Pd Cash Tyler for 3 Nights"		6.	6
1786, Mch. 9.	"By Tyler's Fees for 2 Nights"		4.	4
1786, Dec. 28.	"Pd. Br. Mills [Tyler] Quarter's Salary and Disbursements to Xmas"	3.	0.	3
do. Dec. 28.	"Pd. Tyler's Fee".		2.	2

(*Note.*—This 2^s. 2^d. must have been his charge for 'Drawing the Lodge' on the floor, for his Salary of £12. 0. 0 a year would well remunerate him for his ordinary duties as a Tyler.)

		s.	d
1795, Apl. 9.	"Pd. Tyler's Fees for 4 Makings"	10.	0

(This was the first time the Lodge paid the Tyler a fee of 2^s. 6^d. for each 'Making'; this was clearly to remunerate him for his work of 'Drawing the Lodge,' but the 'Making Fee' had also been raised from £3. 10. 0 to £3. 13. 6.)

			s.	d
1795, Aug. 13.	"Pd. Br. Geo. Mills [Tyler] for *Framing and Forming Lodge*" [one Making]		2.	6
do. Sept. 17.	"Pd. Br. Geo. Mills [Tyler] for Framing and Forming Lodge" [4 Makings on this night]		10.	0
do. Dec. 10.	"Pd. Br. Geo. Mills [Tyler] for Framing and Forming Lodge" [3 Makings on this Night]		7.	6
1796, Aug. 23.	"*Forming Lodge for 3 Makings*"		7.	6
1799, Jan. 10.	"Pd. Forming Y^e^ Lodge for 3 Makings"		7.	6
do. Aug. 8.	"Pd. Br. Mills for Forming 6 Lodges"		15.	0
1802, Jan. 14.	"By Forming 2 Lodges (5s.), and Fruit (5s.)"		10.	0
1807, June 11.	"Pd. for Fruit"		7.	6
	"Pd. for 2 Lodges"		5.	0
	"Pd. for Tobacco"		2.	2
	"Pd. for a *Mop*"		1.	6
	"Pd. Br. Penny [Upper Tyler] ¼ Salary"	£ 3.	3.	0
	"Pd. Br. Mills [Under do.] ¼ do. "	£ 1.	1.	0

(*Note.*—There were 2 Initiations this night; it was part of the Tyler's duties to purchase any Fruit and Tobacco required for the Lodge's use, and on this night he also bought a new Mop.)

Now on the 15th Oct. 1810 (our Upper Tyler being unable to attend on that occasion), a Br. Judd acted as a temporary Tyler for that night, and as he was in the habit of 'Forming the Lodge' with the assistance of *Tape*, he bought 6 yards for which our Treasurer had to pay him.

		s.	d
1810, Oct. 15.	"Pd. Forming 3 Lodges"	7.	6
	"Pd. for 6 Yards Tape"		6
	" do. Br. Judd, Tiler, 1 Night"	3.	6
	" do. Letter"		2

(*Note.*—Here was a fresh Tyler who used Tape when *Drawing the Lodge*. On this 15th Oct. there were 3 Candidates who each paid £4. 4. 0 Initiation Fees; in 1810 the 'Upper Tyler' received a yearly salary of £12. 12. 0, whilst the 'Under Tyler' received £8. 8. 0.)

		s.	d
1810, Dec. 27.	"Pd. Forming 6 Lodges"	15.	0

(Six candidates were Initiated this night, and each paid £4. 4. 0.)

1812, Feb. 23.	"Pd. Forming 2 Lodges"	5.	0

(There were 2 Initiations this night, each candidate paying £4. 4. 0.)

1812, Oct. 18.	"Pd. Forming one Lodge; Bye-Night"	2.	6

(*Note.*—This is the last time the Tyler drew the 'Lodge on the Floor' for the 'Dundee Lodge,' No. 9, at Wapping; after this date the words used by the Treasurer are "Paid Tyler's Bill" in varying amounts such as 16^s^. 0^d^.; 10^s^. 4^d^.; £1. 16. 6, &c. Most likely after 1812, under the influence of the Lodge of Promulgation (1809-1811)—of which our Master, Bro. John Walton, was a member—we gave up our ancient practice and purchased a Tracing Cloth or Tracing Board and thus this old custom died out in No. 9.)

The *Mop* and *Pail*.

Various extracts (1766—1811).

		s.	d
1766, Apl. 24.	"Pd. Bro. Herbert for Pails"	5.	0
1793, June 27.	"Oil and Mop"	2.	6
1794, Mch. 27.	"Mop"	1.	0

(*Note.*—This item followed the usual quarterly payment to the Tylers for their Salaries, also for Oil and Fruit purchased by them, so the 'Upper' Tyler clearly bought this *Mop* for Ceremonial purposes—neither the Secretary nor the Steward purchased same—the Mop bought on 27th June 1793 was apparently worn out or else too dirty for further use.)

		s.	d
1797, Dec. 28.	"Pd. Cash for Mop"	1.	0
	"Pd. for Fruit"	6.	6

(These items follow after payment of the Quarterly Salaries to the 'Upper' and 'Under' Tylers.)

		s.	d
1798, June 14.	"Pd. Tylers £4. 4. 0" (their Salaries)		
	"Pd. do. Mop & Brush"	2.	0
	"Pd. do. Fruit"	3.	6
do. Dec. 27.	"Pd. Forming 5 Lodges"	12.	6
do. do.	"Mop"	1.	0

(As on this night 4 Sea-Captains and one Landsman were 'Made Masons,' the Upper Tyler evidently considered that a new Mop was necessary for the occasion, as 5 Candidates had to use same!)

		s.	d
1799, Apl. 11.	"To Sugar & Nutmegs"	5.	0
do.	"To one Mop & Mending the Poker"	1.	6
do.	"To Forming the Lodge" [one Making to-night]	2.	6
1800, June 12.	"Mopp"	1.	0
1801, Dec. 10.	"By Fruit" 6s. 6d., and a "Mop" 1s. 3d.	7.	9
1804, Apl. 12.	"One Mop," 1s. 3d., and "Fruit" 5s. 8d.	6.	11
1805, Jan. 24.	"Fruit" 7s. 6d.; "Mop" 1s. 3d.	8.	9
1807, June 11.	"Pd. for a Mop"	1.	6
1808, Dec. 8.	"Pd. Tyler for Fruit"	6.	3
	"Pd. do. for Tobacco"	5.	10
	"Pd. do. for a *Mop*"	1.	8

(Thus it is clear that up to Dec. 1808 the Tyler still drew the Lodge in Chalk and Charcoal and the Candidate still had to wipe it out with the *Mop and Pail*; this work was a perquisite of the *Upper Tyler* who would strongly object to its discontinuance, whilst the old Members would consider it a *Landmark* and insist on keeping up our ancient custom.)

		s.	d
1811, Jan. 24.	"Pd. for Fruit"	7.	6
	"Pd. do. Tobacco"	4.	0
	"Pd. for a Pail"	3.	6
	"Pd. do. Forming one Lodge [one Initiate]	2.	6

(It is obvious that the Tyler bought this *Pail* for his Ritual work, if it were wanted for the general cleaning of the Lodge Room—work performed by our Char-lady, Mrs. Benning—it would have been included in our general bill for Ironmongery, thus:—

		£.	s.	d
1805, Dec. 12.	"Pd. Br. Lewis' Bill for Ironmongery" &c.	4.	1.	0
1801.	"Pd. Mrs. Benning for cleaning Lodge"	1.	9.	0

The above payments for Mops and Pails were always made to the Upper Tyler and followed the item "Paid Tyler's Salary," etc.; showing clearly that the Tyler had purchased these items in connection with his special work of *Drawing the Lodge* on the floor of the *Making Room* of the 'Dundee Lodge,' No. 9 at Wapping. The Tyler also regularly purchased fruit—oranges, apples, etc.—for the "Use of the Lodge"; there are many payments in connection therewith.)

Masonic Lectures (1765-1823).

It would be interesting to learn when this method of imparting instruction to the Brethren first had its origin, but as these Lectures invariably took the form of a series of *Questions and Answers*, it is possible that our Masonic ancestors—some of whom were much more imbued with religious fervour than their descendants of to-day—took their inspiration from a contemplation of the Church catechism; there being no less than 25 distinct 'Questions' and 'Answers' thus appearing in the 'Book of Common Prayer.' Masonic Lectures undoubtedly date far back into the remote history of the Craft, for Dr. Anderson states—referring to the meeting of Grand Lodge on 27th Decr. 1721:—"This Communication was Made very entertaining by the *Lectures of some Old Masons*"; originally these were called "Tests," or "Examination Questions." Dr. Oliver in his *Revelations of a Square* informs us that almost the first Lectures were prepared by Drs. Anderson and Desaguliers in 1720, and that in 1732 the Rev. Martin Clare, F.R.S. (afterwards D.G.M.) revised them. About 1763 William Hutchinson prepared certain other Lectures, whilst in 1770 Thomas Dunckerley is credited with compiling his own set of 'Questions' and 'Answers'; soon after this William Preston produced his version and gave a rehearsal of same before certain Grand Officers at a 'Grand Gala' in 1772 held at the 'Crown & Anchor' Tavern, Strand, London.

Dr. Oliver further states that Preston's system of Lectures became popular and were in general use in the South of England whilst Hutchinson's found favour in the North. Later on we learn from the same source that the 'Hutchinson' and 'Prestonian' system of Lectures were combined and in this new form were in general use in England prior to the Union in 1813.

(The writer is however well aware that some of the statements for which Dr. Oliver is responsible are now looked on by certain Masonic experts with suspicion; but as he was a sincere and ardent Mason and practically the only old writer on the life of the Craft in the 18th Century to whom we can now refer, it seems only just not to be too hasty in such wholesale condemnation. Dr. George Oliver was a clergyman of the Church of England, much respected in his day and generation, was Prov.D.G.M. of Lincolnshire, also an honorary member of various Lodges throughout the world. Born in 1782, he died in 1867, and he tells us that his father—who was also a Clergyman, and who lived to about 1850, aged 92—was Initiated into the Craft about the year 1784, and being a Masonic enthusiast kept a diary in which he noted certain interesting facts concerning the early life of the Craft, and it is from this manuscript, and from conversations with certain old Masons that he (Dr. Oliver) derived much of his information. Speaking quite impartially it seems reasonable to believe that certain leaders of the Craft from 1720 to say 1780, whilst not caring to interfere with the actual ceremonies would delight in revising and re-modelling the Masonic Lectures on which the Brethren in those days relied so much for instruction; however each student must decide for himself as to what credence—if any—he is willing to give to statements thus emanating from Dr. Oliver.)

We are also informed by that great Masonic Preceptor, Bro. Peter Gilkes (1765-1833) that from 1823 to 1830 the 'Emulation Lodge of Improvement' taught Lectures *according to the custom of the Grand Stewards' Lodge*, so it is evident that from time to time various systems were at work. It is impossible to say exactly which of these different sets of Lectures our Brethren at Wapping favoured—although it should be remembered that Thomas Dunckerley was a member of our Lodge from 1761 to 1768—but it is perfectly clear that after the short and simple ceremony of Initiation into the 1st and 2nd Degrees was finished—both having been given on the same night in our *Making Room*, the Candidate, the Master, Wardens, together with any Past Masters and other members present would then proceed to our adjoining large Lodge Room, when the Lodge would be formally opened for the night, and in this spacious room the Candidate's further education as a Mason would be proceeded with.

"Charges read to the Initiate."

First, the 'Ancient Charges' were always read to the Initiate out of Dr. Anderson's *Book of Constitutions*;—we purchased the Editions for 1738; 1756; 1767; 1784, and 1815—and our 1756 copy (which is still extant), by its thumb-marked and much stained pages, gives ocular proof of such user; and Secondly: the Masonic Lectures were *worked* by the Master and Wardens,—all the Brethren being seated at tables in the middle of the Lodge. Our Minutes clearly state that such Lectures were given fortnightly every *Lodge Night*, except when owing to the pressure of business or the lateness of the hour, the Brethren voted "that the Lectures should be postponed."—It was not optional in those days, they had to be *Worked*, unless by an express vote they were postponed; it is therefore certain that these Masonic Lectures—whatever system they might have been—formed the most important part of our Ritual up to at least 1823; in 1924 however they are rarely heard in English Lodges except at a Lodge of Instruction. It will be noticed that the 1st and 2nd Lectures were given as a matter of routine, but a Lecture in the 3° was considered a novelty, a kind of extra privilege which had to be expressly voted for.

In 1773 the Minutes generally close with these words:—"Business being over, the Lodge was closed in Due Form"; in 1835 the words used were: "Nothing further offering, the Lodge was closed in due Form and with *Solemn Prayer*."

(*Note*.—We may feel certain that in the 18th Century, the Lodge was also closed with Prayer,—for many years undoubtedly a *Christian Prayer*.)

Extracts from the Minutes of No. 9 at Wapping.

1765, Jan. 10. Proposed "That the Members Useing the Sea should pay at the Door, the same as the Visiting Brothers, 2nd. and carried Nem. Con. Instead of above it was Finally agreed That the Junior Warden shall collect of them *after the First Lecture*."

1769, Oct. 12. "Bro. Allen proposed That we have a Master's Lecture on the Publick Nights from Micas to Ladyday Next which was put up and carried Nem. Con."

1774, Feb. 10. "Masters' Lecture this Night."

1787, Sept. 13. "Lodge Night." The minutes state that "Br. Barnett [who was the Senior Warden] came at 9 o'clock *after Makings*."

1787, Dec. 27. "Lectures postponed on a/c of its being Election Night."

1788, May 22. "The Lectures were Postponed till next Lodge Night on a/c of the lateness of the Hour of Meeting."

1789, Jan. 21. "Br. Leslie proposed That the Masters' Lecture be had this Lodge Night, 2nd and carried; the Reading of the Bye-Laws postponed until next Lodge Night."

June 11. Br. Partridge [J.W.] proposed "That the Lectures be Postponed, 2nd. but Withdrawn."

1790, No. 11. Br. Mann proposed "That the Masters' Lecture should be given, which was accordingly done."

1795, May 14. "At the request of Several Brethren *the Master Masons' Lecture* was given."

1796, Feb. 11. Resolved "That the Lectures be Postponed on a/c of the lateness of the Night [½ past Ten]."

1797, Feb. 23. Br. Gardner proposed "That we have the Masters' Lecture, 2nd and carried."

1799, Oct. 24. "On a/c of the lateness of the Night, *the Remainder* of the Lectures were postponed."

1803, Nov. 10. This Night Br. Hewetson proposed "The Masters' Lecture to be 'Worked,' 2nd, and *the Masters' Lecture was Worked accordingly*."

1804, Jan. 26. Br. Herbert, P.M. proposed "That the Lectures be Postponed, 2nd and put to Show of Hands which was Negatived." Br. Shave, Jr., [an Attorney] proposed "That the Lectures should be *Worked*, 2nd and carried."

1805, Feb. 14. Lodge Night. "R.W.M. Thos Spence declared from the Chair, his Intention of Opening the Lodge for the Future at 8 o'clock precisely, provided that a sufficient number of Brethren attended at that Hour to enable him so to do, and *Makings not Interfering*."

(Here is almost clear proof that 'Making a Mason' in the First Two Degrees took place earlier in the evening in the adjacent small 'Making Room,' where the Tyler had previously 'Drawn the Lodge on the Floor,' the Lodge itself being formally opened later on in the large Lodge Room, both rooms being on the First Floor. In 1764 the Lodge used to meet at 7 p.m. and close at 11 p.m. 1764, Apl. 12. Resolved "That no Liquor be brought into this Lodge, after the Lodge is closed, which shall always be closed at Eleven o'clock.")

1806, Aug. 14. Resolved "That the Lectures be Postponed till next Lodge Night *in consequence of the absence of the Senior and Junior Wardens*."

(It is interesting to note that the absence of the 2 Wardens to give their respective 'Answers' to the usual 'Questions' asked by the Master prevented the due 'Working' of these Lectures in 1806.)

1809, Sept. 14. A proposal "That on a/c of the lateness of the Evening, the Remainder of the Lectures be postponed was Negatived."

(The Lectures were also postponed on account of its being Election Night or the pressure of business in 1817, 1818, 1820, 1822, and 1823.)

1810, Jan. 25. Resolved "That the Charges to our New Made Brethren be Read on the Initiation, *as Usual*."

"Stability" (1817) and "Emulation' (1823).

Although after the Union in 1813, Grand Lodge in 1816 formally sanctioned and approved the new Ritual as prepared by the Lodge of Reconciliation, yet up to this present date (1924), no system of Lectures of any kind whatsoever has ever been officially sanctioned either by the Lodge of Reconciliation or by Grand Lodge itself. In 1819 the Duke of Sussex (G.M.) stated "that it was his opinion that so long as the Master of any Lodge *observed exactly the Land Marks of the Craft*, he was at liberty to give the Lectures in the Language best suited to the Character of the Lodge over which he presided."—It is worthy of note that although the Ritual of the Three Degrees was thus agreed upon—after much discussion and argument—by the Lodge of Reconciliation, and later on was formally approved by Grand Lodge in 1816; these new Ceremonies were not at all popular at first, for we read that many Brethren both 'Modern' and 'Antient' objected to them. We are also told that during the early years of the two Premier Lodges of Instruction, viz. (a) 'Stability Lodge of Instruction' (1817), and (b) 'Emulation Lodge of Improvement' (1823), the Lectures were constantly *Worked* in preference to the rendering of the actual Ritual,—at any rate they are much more often referred to—and it seems obvious from this fact that their members at the beginning of their respective careers—being so wedded to their former system of teaching by 'Question' and 'Answer,'—insisted on their Preceptors *working the Lectures* and not the Ritual, and only later on, reluctantly gave up their old procedure by force of circumstances over which they had no control. It would be very interesting indeed to learn what kind of Lectures were actually worked by 'Stability' and 'Emulation' during the first period of their existence, for there was no set form of Lectures officially sanctioned by Grand Lodge of any kind, and therefore any that were so worked must have been quite unofficial and consequently without Masonic authority. We are however informed by

Bro. Peter Gilkes, a great Masonic expert, and the recognised Preceptor of 'Emulation,' that from 1823 to 1830, that Lodge of Instruction—under his own guidance from 1825—was working the Lectures "*according to the custom of the Grand Stewards' Lodge.*"

To those who desire strict accuracy of the working of our ceremonies, it seems a great pity that both 'Stability' in 1817 and 'Emulation' in 1823 did not immediately they commenced operations, work the actual Ritual of the Three Degrees as laid down for their guidance by the Lodge of Reconciliation, and which had also received the official sanction of Grand Lodge itself in 1816.—One is tempted very much to sympathise with the views expressed by our late and much esteemed Bro. Hextall, who in *A.Q.C.* Vol. xxiii., p. 306, stated that "Upon careful consideration, and writing as a member of the Craft since 1873, I find myself confirmed in the belief that any claim which may be made at the present day to a precise acquaintance with the ceremonies as they were settled and approved in 1816 is . . . illusory, &c."

Discipline in Lodge.

Fines on Members and Visitors.

"*Disguised in Liquor.*"

There were unruly members in those days, and it was found by experience necessary to institute a system of fines and penalties for misconduct, also for absence from Masonic duties and refusing to accept office when duly elected to serve. The Bye-Laws of 1760—evidently based on a much older set of regulations—provided as follows—

No. 6. "The Stewards Elect to pay a fine of 10s. 6d. to be Excused Serving that Office."

(Here is a clear reference to the practice of the Ancient Guilds,—now represented by the various City Companies,—who invariably fine their members if they delcline to "Serve" an office when duly elected. *Note.*—This regulation was not made until 1764 the year in which we first appointed Stewards.)

No. 12. "No Brother shall enter This Lodge *Disguised in Liquor*, nor use Light or Indecent Language or Behaviour while the Lodge is open, under Penalty of being Fined as the Master (in his Discretion) shall think Fitt and shall likewise be *Reprimanded From the Chair.*"

No. 18. "Each Member of This Lodge being Summon'd by the Order of the Master, to attend on *Special Affairs*, and not appearing, shall Forfeit one Shilling for the Use of the Lodge, Unless he can excuse his Non-Attendance to the satisfaction of the Lodge."

No. 24. "These Laws or Orders shall be Read on the First Lodge Night in the months of January, April, July, and October, to the end that every Member may be acquainted with them, and the Master Neglecting to Read or cause them to be Read, shall forfeit for every such Default two shillings and sixpence for the Use of the Lodge."

"*Furniture damaged to be paid for*" (1764).

Now, in 1763, our Brethren having acquired a Freehold in Red Lyon Street, Wapping, purchased a quantity of expensive paraphernalia wherewith to equip their new Lodge Room, and although furniture made in the Georgian era was generally massive and strongly constructed, yet damage sometimes arose thro' certain Brethren losing their temper during the heat of argument. It will be remembered that being a Maritime Lodge, many Captains and Mates of foreign nationality were on our list of Sea-Members and so in 1764, a new Bye-Law was enacted perhaps for the special benefit of these rough sailor-chaps.

No. 30. "Any Brother who is a Member of this Lodge who shall *Behave Anyways Irregular* on a Lodge Night shall pay a Fine of Two Shillings for the Use of This Lodge, and shall *Make Good all Damage* that he may Do or Cause to be *Done to Any of the Furniture, etc.*, and such offending Brother who may refuse to Pay the Same, shall have no Vote for that Night, and if they will not comply on the Next Public Night they attend, they are hereby Declared to be no longer a Member of This Lodge, and any Visiting Brother being Guilty of the like Misbehaviour shall be Subject to the same Penalty, and if he refuse to comply he shall not be Permitted to Visit this Lodge for the Future."

The History of the Westminster & Keystone Lodge, No. 10, by Bro. Godding (1907) informs us that as late as 1813 Art. 21 of their Bye-Laws stated "That if any Brother (in the time of Lodge Hours) shall be detected in *the vile habit of profane cursing and swearing* or uttering any obscene or immoral discourse, or attempt to sing any immodest or obscene song, he shall for every such offence be fined not more than Five Shillings nor less than One Shilling at the discretion of the Master and Wardens"; no wonder that the Secretary in those days was sometimes grateful when, the evening's proceedings being safely over, he felt himself justified in writing at the end of his Minutes the words:—

"Business being over, the Lodge was closed in *Due Form, Harmony and Decorum.*"

Various extracts from the Minutes of No. 9.

1764. "Bro. Newton was expelled the Lodge for Scurrilous and Indecent Language, but on making proper concession to the Lodge, he was forgiven, *and the Lodge well satisfied.*"

1765. Bro. Robey was "forbidden to Visit on A/c of his speaking disrespectfully of the Craft"; also two Visitors were fined 2s. each for Swearing in Lodge."

1765, Nov. 26. Present 36 Land Members, 6 Members "Useing the Sea," and 10 Visitors. On this night three Brethren were fined 2s. each for "*Swearing in Lodge and other Irregularities*"; two of these were Visitors and declined to pay, so "they were excluded visiting the Lodge in future"; the third was a Member and paid his fine.

1765. "Recd. of Bro. Morgan his Fine for Irregularities," 2s.

1768. "Bro. Perry having been Raised a Master, and on the same night not behaving in a respectful manner was expelled the Lodge, and it was resolved That he should not be a Member of this Lodge any longer."

(*Note.*—He had only just been "Raised" to the Sublime Degree of a Master Mason!)

1784. "Recd. of Br. Kerrison his Fine for comeing to the Lodge disguised in Liquor," 2s.

1786, Jan. 26. "Br. Partridge moved that Br. Peter Kerrison for his misbehaviour in this Lodge last Night and from the general bad tenor of his conversation be expelled this Lodge, 2nd. and unanimously carried."

A Mr. Junius Bumsted—a Grocer of Wapping High Street—had been "Made a Mason" in 1790 in Lodge No. 9, but soon fell into disgrace:—

1791, Mch. 10. "Br. Bacon [S.W.] proposed that a Vote of Censure be past on Br. Bumsted for Misconduct and that he be fined 2s. 6d. seconded & carried"; and later on "Br. Bacon proposed that if Br. Bumsted do not pay his Fine next Lodge Night, that he be expelled this Lodge, 2nd. and carried."

(Evidently Br. Bumsted—accustomed to rule over his little Grocer's shop, where his slightest word was law—had audibly stated that he refused to pay any such fine, so later in the evening he received this further warning; however he thought better of it, and paid his fine in due course as appears from the Cash Book.)

1791, Mch. 24. "Received of Br. Bumsted, a Fine," 2^{s}. 6^{d}.

1813. Two Past Masters and a Steward were "each fined 2s. 6d. for Neglecting to wear their Jewels."

1813, March 11. "Recd. of Br. Bayne, P.M., and Br. Mountford, P.M., and Tr., their fines for not wearing their Jewels," 5s.

1836. "All officers [except the Treasurer] not attending within a quarter of an hour of the time fixed, to be fined 2s. 6d. each."

Sale of Playhouse Tickets in 1760.

The practice of Members selling theatre tickets on commission in open Lodge had evidently become so prevalent that Lodges of repute had to enact special Regulations to deal with the abuse, hence we find that the Dundee Lodge, No. 9, in 1760 took action as follows, for Bye-Law, No. 27 states:—"That Agreable to the '*Custom of Many other Lodges*' no Brother be Permitted to Offer or Dispose of any Playhouse Tickets in the Lodge *During Lodge Hours.*"

Garrick at "Goodman's Fields, near Wapping."

Now in the neighbourhood of Wapping there was then a well-known Play-house, known as 'Goodman's Fields Theatre,' where David Garrick in 1741 made his first appearance as Richard III. and by his rendering of this and other characters laid the foundation of his subsequent world-wide renown. Many people flocked to see him; "The Town, as Gray declared, was '*horn-mad*' about him," whilst Horace Walpole writes "There was a dozen dukes of a night at Goodman's Fields." This Theatre was built in 1729 and pulled down about 1746; it was later on succeeded by the 'Royalty Theatre,' Wells Street, Wellclose Square, Wapping, which was opened in 1787; this street received its name from Goodman's Fields' Well in 1735.

Thornbury in his *Old and New London*, Vol. 2, tells us that "Goodman's Fields were originally part of a farm belonging to the Abbey of the Nuns of St. Clair."—John Stow, the Antiquary (1525-1605) also says "At the which farm, I myself in my youth have fetched many a halfpenny-worth of milk, and never had less than three ale-pints for a halfpenny in summer, nor less than one ale-quart for a halfpenny in winter, *always hot from the Kine*, as the same was milked and strained. One Trolop, and afterwards *Goodman*, were the farmers there, and had thirty or forty Kine to the pail."

"Johnson" and "Garrick."

It will be remembered that Samuel Johnson and David Garrick left Lichfield together in 1737 to earn their fortunes in London; Garrick soon became famous as a great actor, whilst Johnson for a lengthy period was still poor and practically unknown. This caused some slight feeling of jealousy on Johnson's part, for Boswell in *The Life of Samuel Johnson* tells us that: "His schoolfellow and friend, Dr. Taylor, told me a pleasant anecdote of Johnson's triumphing over his pupil, David Garrick. When that great actor had played some little time at Goodman's fields [adjacent to Wapping], Johnson and Taylor went [circa 1741] to see him perform and afterwards passed the evening at a tavern with him and old Giffard. Johnson who was ever depreciating stage-players, after censuring some mistakes in emphasis, which Garrick had committed in the course of that night's acting, said, "The players, Sir, have got a kind of rant, with which they run on, without any regard

either to accent or emphasis." Both Garrick and Giffard were offended at this sarcasm, and endeavoured to refute it; upon which Johnson rejoined, "Well, now, I'll give you something to speak, with which you are little acquainted, and then we shall see how just my observation is. That shall be the criterion: Let me hear you repeat the ninth Commandment, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.' Both tried at it, said Dr. Taylor, and both mistook the emphasis, which should be upon *not* and *false witness*. Johnson put them right, and enjoyed his victory with great glee."

Here is confirmatory evidence that Johnson was well acquainted with the neighbourhood of Wapping—as far back as 1741—also shown by his cryptic advice to Boswell in 1783 to "*Explore Wapping*" if he wished to see in London "such modes of life as very few could even imagine," and it is, to say the least of it, a strange coincidence that the records of the 'Dundee Lodge,' No. 9, state that one "Samuel Johnson" was *Made a Mason* in their Lodge Room at Wapping in 1767; whilst another item from the Lodge's Cash book states:—"1772. Recd. of Robert Garrick, his Making. £2. 2. 0." Was he related to David Garrick, and a friend of Dr. Samuel Johnson?

It is interesting to note that in 1733, a Lodge (No. 111) was meeting at the 'Theatre Tavern,' Goodman's Fields, London; this Lodge lapsed about 1761, but the Tavern evidently took its name from the same Theatre where Garrick was acting in 1741.

(Rocque's Map of London (1746) makes it clear that Wapping was then contiguous to Goodman's Fields.)

The following advertisement in *The Times* indicates the class of amusement provided at the Theatres in those days for the sea-faring population of the Port of London:—

"The Times," 2nd May, 1822.

"Royalty Theatre, Well-street, Well-close-square [Wapping]. This evening will be presented an entirely new operatical, melodramatical, and the real Corinthianical, elegantly elucidated, and most truly designated Tom, Jerry, and Logic's Life in London; Corinthian Tom, Mr. Huntley; Jerry Hawthorn, Mr. Harwood; Bob Logic, Mr. Davidge. In Act 2, Scene 1, 'Life Among Millers,' in which the celebrated *Neat* from Bristol will set-to with Hickman, the Gas-light Man, who have been engaged expressly for this piece. To conclude with the admired Melo-drama called The Black Valley. Places to be taken of Mr. Nodder, box-book keeper, at the theatre from 11 till 4."

Extract from the Minutes of No. 9.

1825, July 7. "Mr. James Dunn of the Royalty Theatre, Gent., aged 58 years was Initiated."

Many of the members of the Dundee Lodge, No. 9, lived in Well-close Square, Wapping; the most important being Bro. John Walton, R.W.M. in 1809, a Warehouseman, who was appointed a member of the Lodge of Promulgation (1809-11).

To conclude it is a reasonable thing to suggest that tickets for Goodman's Fields Theatre,—where David Garrick used to act—were hawked for sale in our Lodge room at Wapping.

"Crimson Velvet Pall" (1745).

In our list of Paraphernalia commencing in 1739 appears this item:—

1745, Dec. 26. "A Crimson Velvet Pall with Gold Fringe Lace, etc., £12. 10. 0."

This was most likely made in Spitalfields—adjacent to Wapping—by French Hugenots who had established there the art of silk weaving and manufacture of

velvet. £12. 10. 0 was a large sum for our Brethren to pay in those days as they were not rich men, and is evidence that they spared no expense to make their ceremonies instructive and impressive. It is very unlikely that this Pall was used in outdoor processions at the funeral of a deceased Brother, it would be too valuable for such a purpose—and there were only 14 Land Members and 7 Sea-Captains on our list of members in 1745,—the writer therefore suggests it was used as a part of the ritual during the ceremony of *Raising a Master* and doubtless added much to the solemnity of the scene.

"Mort-Cloth."

A Pall or *Mort-cloth* was however in constant use for burial purposes in olden days. The Encycl. Brit. (11th Edition, p. 650) states:—"In Mediæval Britain . . . the poor were buried without coffins, wrapped simply in cloth or even covered only *with hay and flowers.*" Towards the end of the 17th Century, coffins became usual for all classes, but it is worth noting that in the Burial Service in the Book of Common Prayer, the word *Coffin* is not used. A reference to this subject is also found in *A.Q.C.*, Vol. xxiv., p. 31: "In those days [circa 1666] they did not in country places always bury the dead in coffins, but the corpse on its way to the grave was covered with a pall of black velvet which belonged to the Kirk, though many Societies or Guilds possessed their own. The Cloth was hired out for the use of parishioners for a fee."

A new "**Perpend Ashler**" (1754).

Extract from Minutes of Lodge, No. 9, at Wapping.

1754, Apl. 11. Resolved that "*A New Perpend Ashler* Inlaid with Devices of Masonry valued at £2, 12. 6 be purchased."

The expression "perpend-ashler" occurs but rarely in the Minutes of old Lodges; it is an ancient operative term and the meaning is as follows:—

(*a*) Ashler [or Ashlar]; "a rough stone as brought from the Quarry."
(*b*) Perpend: "a stone made just as thick as a wall, showing its smoothed ends on either side thereof"; [from the *Century Dictionary.*]

The Perpend-Ashler is now generally described in a Lodge as the "Perfect Ashlar."

It was customary in olden days to place both the 'Rough' and 'Perfect' Ashlars on the 'Drawing of the Lodge' on the Floor during the ceremony of *Making a Mason*, these Symbols, with others, being carefully explained to the Candidate:—

Q. "Name the Immovable Jewels?"
A. "The Tracing Board, Rough and Perfect Ashlars."

Q. "Why are they called Immovable Jewels?"
A. "Because they lie open in the Lodge for the Brethren to moralize on."

The position of the Ashlars on the Pedestals of Lodges is therefore clearly not in accordance with ancient working; a few Lodges however still retain the old custom.

The Royal Order of Scotland—reputed to have had its origin in 1314—has a legend stating that the Order came into existence by the fiat of King Robert Bruce, who—it is alleged—had received great services from a party of Masons who had fought under him in the Battle of Bannockburn; be that as it may, it is interesting to note that their Ancient Ritual assigns the highest honour to the symbol now under discussion, for this Order states that the *Perpend Ashler* represents to their members:—

"The Great Architect of the Church, who called Himself the 'Rose of Sharon' and the 'Lily of the Valley.'"

(Here is further evidence of the deep spiritual signification our ancient Brethren attributed to the various Symbols in their Craft Lodges.)

(*Note.*—The Symbol of the "Perpend Ashlar" was discussed at length by Bro. E. H. Dring, P.M. 2076, in his valued Article on "The Tracing Board"; see *A.Q.C.* xxix., 258-260.)

"Aprons."

Cloathing the Lodge.

As far back as 1600 it was customary for a Candidate on entering a Scotch Lodge to pay not only a fee but also "*to supply gloves to every Master present.*" "The Minutes of the Melrose Lodge in 1695 state that the price of gloves presented by prentices was four shillings," see Minute Book of the Aitchison's Haven Lodge; 1598-1674. *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxiv., p. 32.

The Grand Lodge of 1717 evidently approved of such procedure because we note that Clause 7 of the 'General Regulations,' sanctioned by G.L. in 1721 states:—VII. "Every *new* Brother *at his making* is decently *to cloathe the Lodge*, that is, all the Brethren present." This was soon found to be onerous and it was customary for Lodge No. 9 at Wapping to provide—out of the funds of the Lodge—large "Common" Aprons for the members to wear when attending to their Masonic duties; they cost 1s. to 1s. 6d. each, and were kept in the Lodge Room by the Tyler. These Aprons made of white lambskin, in time became dirty and stained; for in those rough days the wine and punch would easily get spilled over them owing to the constant toasts and '*Firing*' that went on as the Brethren sat round the Tables, during the 'Working' of the Lectures. When the Aprons had become so dirty as to arouse comment a proposal would be made to "*New Cloathe the Lodge*," which meant the providing new aprons for all the Brethren at the expense of the Lodge. The Lodge would also often present a Past Master with an Apron of higher value, costing 10s. 6d.; and later on it was customary to provide the R.W. Master, Wardens, Past Masters and Officers with their Aprons, *lined with silk*; many purchases of such aprons appear in the Treasurer's books of No. 9.

Extracts from the Minutes of No. 9.

The House Maid of the Tavern (1750).

1750, Sept. 13. "Bro. Lane proposed, That the Box in which we formerly put our Aprons in should be given to the Maid Servant of this House [The 'Dundee Arms' Tavern, Wapping], 2rd. by Bro. Banson, 3rd, 4th, and 5th."

(The popularity of the Maid is apparent, for the Proposer was R.W.M. in 1739, the Seconder was the S.W., whilst all those present were supporters of the suggestion.)

1752, Dec. 14. Bro. Lane's proposal for "*New Cloathing the Lodge* was carried in the Affirmative."

Dec. 28. "That Ye Past Master's and Ye Secretary's Aprons be lined."

1755, Apl. 10. Resolved "That a convenient Nest of Boxes be provided to hold the Aprons in an Alphabetical Order and the Master and Wardens procure the same."

(This would enable a Bro. to keep his own apron distinct from others, as it must have been very objectionable to have to use one soiled by a careless member.)

1764, Nov. 22. Resolved "That this Lodge be new Cloathed with Aprons" and "That the Past Masters of this Lodge have Aprons bound with the same Ribbon as they wore their Meddals."

1786, Dec. 26. Resolved "That New Aprons be provided for the Master, Wardens, Past Masters and Secretary, and 24 Common Aprons for the Brethren for the Use of the Lodge, and that Bro. Maddox provide the same."

1796, Feb. 11. Resolved "That the R.W.M., S.W., and J.W., should each be provided with a clean apron to be marked with the Initials of their Offices"; also "That the Lodge be provided with 5 Dozen Aprons, and that no one Brother take either home; Br. James Powell [R.W.M. in 1790, an Undertaker] to provide the Apron."

		£. s. d
1797.	"Pd. Br. Powell, P.M. his Bill for Aprons"	4. 16. 6

(*Note.*—In 1807, a P.M. who died insolvent was buried at the expense of the Lodge, Br. Powell P.M. acting as the Undertaker; his charges for the Funeral being £5. 5. 0.)

A few extracts from the Cash Books.

		£. s. d
1752.	"Pd. for 6 Aprons" [1s. 2d. each]	7. 0
1764.	"Pd. for Gold Fringe for the Steward's Apron"	2. 6
1765.	"Pd. Bro. Maddox for 2 Aprons" [10s. 6d. each]	1. 1. 0
1797.	"Pd. for Silk Apron for P.M. Betson"	10. 6
1811.	"Pd. for Aprons"	8. 4. 6
do.	"Pd. for 7 Past Masters' Aprons"	2. 13. 0

For the information of the young Mason—who may fairly ask what was the type of man who thus joined the Craft at Wapping during the 18th Century—a fairly representative list is here given, taken verbatim from the Minute Books, showing the various avocations of Candidates who were '*Made Masons*' in the 'Dundee Lodge,' No. 9, at Wapping from 1785 to 1808:—

"All Sorts and Conditions of Men."

Many "Sea-Captains" of all nationalities, "Proctors of Doctors' Commons" (3), "Plumber," "Sail-Maker," "Mathematical Instrument Maker," "Wine Merchant," "Bricklayer," "Stationer," "Surgeon and Apothecary," "Shoe Maker," "Carpenter and Builder," "Victualler," "Master Mariner," "Coal Merchant," "Turner," "Butcher," "Ornament Pincher and Thermometer Maker," "Dealer in Irish Provisions and Ship Stores," "Hatter," "Seedsman and Florist," "Gun-Maker," "Hosier," "Cutler," "Navy Surgeon," "Brandy Merchant," "Cooper," "Ship Broker," "India Broker," "Merchant," "Grocer," "Druggist," "Watch Maker," "Auctioneer," "Pilot," "Cheesemonger," "Water Gilder," "Confectioner," "Cabinet-Maker," "Tea-Dealer," "Cordwainer," "Stock Broker," "Tallow Chandler," "Taylor," "Paper Merchant," "Slop Seller," "Ironmonger," "Silk Weaver," "*Gentleman*," "Boat Builder," "Brush and Blacking Ball Maker to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales," "A Clerk in Holy Orders," "Sash Maker," "Music Master," "Corn Factor," "Ship-Wright," "Carver and Gilder," "Pawn-Broker," "Surveyor," "Brewer," "Vintner," "Surgeon," "Officer in the British Army," "Dancing Master," "Mahogany Broker," "Engineer," "Lighterman," "Timber Merchant," "Sack Manufacturer," "Insurance Broker," "Woollen Draper," "Engraver," "Tin Plate Manufacturer," "Biscuit Baker," "Attorney," and last but not least an "Undertaker."

(Truly, the 'Dundee Lodge,' No. 9, at Wapping must have been quite a democratic assembly, for the Proctor of Doctors' Commons had to sit 'cheek by

jowl' with the Butcher, whilst the Surgeon made friends with the Slop Seller, and the Clerk in Holy Orders took a glass of Punch with the Undertaker!)

. . . .

Limitations of time and space prevent any further reference to various other interesting old customs, well known to our Masonic Ancestors.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to Bro. Heiron, on the proposition of Bro. W. Wonnacott and seconded by Bro. J. Heron Lepper, comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. Gilbert W. Daynes, J. E. S. Tuckett, Robt. I. Clegg, R. J. Meekren, W. J. Songhurst, Geo. W. Bullamore, C. Walton Rippon, and Gilbert S. Shadwell.

Bro. J. Heron Lepper said:—

I have very much pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to Brother Heiron for his exceedingly interesting paper.

I would like to congratulate him upon the privilege he has had of diving into the records of this old Lodge, which truly is one of the aristocrats of the Craft; and I would further congratulate him on the spirit and industry wherewith he has made those records available to other students. May I express the sincere hope that at some future date we may see a further and enlarged history of the same Lodge from the same hand. If I may throw out a suggestion in regard to this enlarged history, it would be that Brother Heiron might see fit to include in it a complete list of names of all the members who ever belonged to Old Dundee. In view of the fact that so many sea-faring men belonged to this Lodge, the inclusion of information about these sailors might prove to have a world-wide interest. Lodges in the Colonies might trace among their early members brethren who first saw the light at Wapping, and the pioneers of the Craft in distant parts of the earth might be proved, and I am confident in many cases would be proved, to have come from this splendid old Lodge which sent out its children to the ends of the earth across the trackless highroads of the English, the seven seas of the Universe.

I have little to offer in the way of criticism and not much in the way of illustration; still, one or two points which may be of general interest occurred to me and I shall take them in order.

There is a curious circumstance in connexion with Lord Blayney, who was Grand Master of the Moderns in England and visited Old Dundee in 1766. In May, 1768, he was elected Grand Master of Ireland, but resigned before being installed, and in June, 1768, the Earl of Cavan was re-elected G.M. there. This opens rather an interesting question. Ten years before this date the G.L. of Ireland had promised through its G. Secretary, John Calder, that it would support the G. Lodge of the Antients in every way. How then did it come to elect the late Grand Master of the Moderns in 1768? Did his failure to serve in that office arise from a disinclination on his own part, or a belated discovery by the Grand Lodge of Ireland that he would not be at home in the Irish ritual? This is one of the problems of the Antient and Modern disagreement which has yet to be solved; and I take this opportunity of putting it to the members of Q.C.

Brother Heiron suggests that the Holy Royal Arch was conferred in the "Masters' Lodges." This may have been so in London, of course, but in Cork at approximately the same date the "Masters' Lodges" existed solely for the purpose of conferring the Third Degree. I offer proof of this in some extracts copied for me from the Minute Book of Shamrock Lodge, No. 27 Cork, by my indefatigable collaborator, Brother Philip C. Crosslé:—

8th April, 1751. "Brors. T. Allen & Hen. Goold Earnestly requested to be rais'd Masters, and next Monday was appointed for that purpose."

15th April, 1751. "At a Master's Lodge held this Day" these two Brethren were "raisd Masters."

23rd April, 1751. "This being a Master's Lodge . . ." "a Fellow Crafts Lodge first opend" to admit Mr. John Joanes . . . "then the Fellow Crafts Lodge was Clos'd, and a Master's being opened" two Brethren were "raised Masters."

30th May, 1751. "David FitzGerald, P:G:Mr." presided . . . "a Master's Lodge being opened . . . The Right Worspfull propos'd that no Fellow Craft shou'd henceforth be rais'd a Master without being Balloted for in the manner recommended in the By Laws (Article). This question being argued by several of the Members and sufficiant resons given for the nessessety of such a practice, 'Twas resolved that henceforth No Fellow Craft be rais'd without being balloted For and that this rule be interd in the By-Laws."

What makes these entries in the Cork Minute Book particularly interesting to us as English Masons is that further extracts, which I do not quote here, show this Lodge to have been working similarly in all respects to the Bristol Masons of the period, and the Bristol Rite, we are told by those best qualified to pass an opinion, has altered very little in two hundred years of working.

This brings us to the very fascinating question of what changes were introduced by the Moderns to cause such heartburnings among those who eschewed all change. Some of these were undoubtedly very trivial. Such were: the position of the altar in Lodge and (possibly) the position of some of the principal officers; the Master being elected for a year, instead of bi-annually, as remained the custom in Ireland till 1875; differences in the forms of "firing" and in the steps used in the degrees. All these were mere trifles and were not of a nature to make old Past Masters uncomfortable in Lodge when altered. But I think that there were graver differences as well in those Modern Lodges which adopted the new customs promulgated about 1730, and the very great value of Brother Heiron's book on Old Dundee is that we learn from it in what some of those changes consisted.

Taking things in order, may I supplement the quotation of 1726, given by Brother Sadler, by another newspaper quotation from the same year: premising that about this time London was taking a great interest in various models of Solomon's Temple:—

> Mr. Whiston has made a model of Solomon's Temple to show in opposition to that in the Haymarket; both of which are pretended to be true models, yet are very different. If our Virtuosi can't agree upon Corporeals, no wonder there is such a difference *in Speculative Matters* [italics mine].
>
> (*Mist's Weekly Journal*, 6th August, 1726. Quoted in *Kentish Post*, 1726.)

I suggest that this may be an allusion to differences of opinion in the Grand Lodge of England.

A couple of years later, another newspaper paragraph which was copied by many provincial journals gives us the popular idea of what took place at a Masonic initiation:—

> Last Friday Night, at a certain Tavern not far from the Royal Exchange, there was a Lodge of Free Masons for accepting some new Members, when an unlucky Accident happen'd which had like to have discover'd the Grand Secret; for one of the Probationers was so surpriz'd when they pulled off his Hat and Perriwig, unbutton'd his Collar and Sleeves, took out his Shoe-buckles, and stripp'd him to his Shirt, that he thought they were going to castrate or circumcise him, and fearing to be made either an Eunuch or a Jew, he watch'd his

> Opportunity, upon seeing the Door of the Room half open, and ran out into the Street, to the great Terror of the Oyster-Woman, but was pursued by his Fraternity, who perswaded him with good Words to return back to the Lodge, and comply with the rest of the Ceremonies of his Installation.
>
> (*Kentish Post*: No. 1106, 25-28 Decr., 1728: quoted from *St. James's Even. Post*, 24th Decr., 1728.)

I apologise for the length of these extracts, yet they introduce the point I wish to make, viz., that one of the Modern changes had to do with the preparation for initiation. In 1764 Dermott wrote in the second edition of *Ahiman Rezon*, chipping the Moderns:—

> Hence it was ordered, that every person (during the time of his initiation) should wear boots, spurs, a sword and spectacles.

Dermott undoubtedly insinuates in this passage . . .

Now if we turn to page 185 of Brother Heiron's history we find that Dermott's taunt was justified; and further, that the satire in *Ahiman Rezon* had come home so much to the rulers of the Craft in 1766 that Lord Blayney in that year ordered Old Dundee to revert to the ancient custom of . . .

A reproach has sometimes been levelled against this Lodge of Quatuor Coronati that it gives too much attention to the dry details of Minute Books and neglects the flowery vales of traditional history; but if it were necessary to offer a justification for the Quatuor Coronati school of historian, surely the instance I have just quoted would provide it. Brother Heiron's disinterment of this incident between Lord Blayney and Old Dundee is a discovery of the first importance, and is but one instance of the many obligations we owe to his unremitting zeal and industry.

The only further comments I have to add are mere trifles. Thus, I have never come across in any Irish Minute Book a reference to "drawing the Lodge," though an instance occurs of a Lodge having a floor-cloth painted for itself as early as 1749; while another of these floor-cloths painted in 1764 is still extant. With regard to the Lectures, the practice appears to have been on all fours with Old Dundee; those in the 1st and 2nd Degrees were often given. The occurrence of one on the 3rd Degree is very rare. In regard to the Charge to the initiate being *read* in the year 1810; in my time in Ireland it was an instruction to the W.M. that he should read and not recite this beautiful part of the ceremony. Finally, in our Irish Lodges the altar is still placed in the middle of the room.

Nothing remains to me now, in seconding this vote of thanks to Brother Heiron, but to express my personal gratitude for his labours, and the hope that he will feel encouraged to pursue his researches into the by-gone customs of the Order.

Bro. Gilbert W. Daynes *writes*:—

No Mason can listen to, or read about, the doings of his eighteenth century ancestors without learning many things of great interest, and much which helps to explain our present customs and formalities. In his delightful paper Bro. Heiron has dwelt upon some very interesting features and customs of Old Dundee Lodge No. 18. He refers to the Bible presented to the Lodge, in 1749, "which is still in regular use on the Altar before the W. Master." It is not quite clear whether Bro. Heiron refers to an Altar such as is found in the U.S.A. Lodges, or to what is generally termed, in England, the Pedestal. If the latter is intended, then, considering the uses to which the Pedestal is usually put by W.M.'s, the term Altar seems hardly appropriate. Indeed, I know of no ritual used in Lodges under the English Constitution, which calls it by that name. Also, Bro. Heiron's reference to the old Lodge Bible brings to my mind the Bible used in my Mother Lodge, Union, No. 52, at Norwich. This Bible is an old "Breeches," or Geneva, Bible, printed in 1597. It was rebound, and

presented to the Lodge in 1751. At some unknown period it passed out of the possession of the Lodge, but was fortunately discovered, and restored to the Lodge in 1897 by the late Lord Amherst of Hackney, a Past Master of the Lodge. Although it has not been in continuous use, in Union Lodge, since 1751, yet its history may perhaps be of interest when comparing it with that of the Bible to which Bro. Heiron calls attention.

The appointment of Deacons in 1810, and the use of the "Mercury" jewels, are quite interesting, and seem to point to a leaning towards the Antients, which was given expression to as soon as the negotiations for the Union reached an active state, and the Lodge of Promulgation was warranted. It would be interesting to know if any other Modern Lodges, who appointed Deacons prior to the Union, possess similar jewels for their Deacons; jewels which I believe are always associated with the Antient Lodges.

The presence of the "two large Globes, Celestial and Terrestrial," in the Lodge raises an interesting enquiry. When did the practice originate? We may be fairly certain that the custom was not one derived from the old Operative Lodges. If it is permissible to speculate upon the point, one would be tempted to attribute its origin to John Senex, the eminent cartographer, and Junior Grand Warden in 1723-24. To show that this suggestion has some evidence to support it, I will quote from the Minutes of the Royal Society, to which, through the courtesy of the Council of that Society, I have recently had access. In Volume XIV. of the Journal Book, under date 29th June, 1728, we read:—"Mr. Senex . . . also shew'd the Society his two new Large Globes of 28 Inches Diameter; For which he was Thank't." It is, however, only fair to Bro. Songhurst to state, that this suggestion was first made to me by him, when I sent him a copy of the Minutes I have just quoted.

The Sword of State is an interesting survival of what must have been, in the early years of organized Freemasonry, a general custom; a custom derived, perhaps, from the Municipalities, most of whom still possess Swords of State. In the Minutes of Grand Lodge for 29th January, 1730, we are given a description of the Procession into the Hall, on the occasion of the Grand Annual Feast. It tells us that, in front of the Grand Master Elect, there was "The Sword to be born by the Master of the Lodge to whom it belongs." That year, however, Grand Lodge, through the generosity of its Grand Master, the Duke of Norfolk, acquired a Sword of State of its own, which is still in use.

It was not always the duty of the Tyler to send out the Summonses, as that duty sometimes devolved upon the Landlord of the Tavern where the Lodge met. Thus, we read in the Minute Book of the Maid's Head Lodge at Norwich, under date 5th July, 1750, that it was "Ordered That Bror. Royall Summons the Brethren of this Lodge, to meet Bro. Ald. John Goodman at the King's Head, at Brooke, upon Thursday, the 26th Instant." Bro. Royall was the Landlord, and a Member of the Lodge. In those early days the Landlords were far more closely associated with the Lodges than later on. In Norwich it was not considered correct to hold a Lodge in a Tavern where the Landlord was not a Freemason, the only exception, apparently, being the Widow of a Landlord who had been a Freemason.

The earliest reference to a Tyler in Norfolk Lodge Records appears in the Minutes of the Union Coffee House Lodge for the 31st October, 1753, followed by those of the Maid's Head Lodge for the 27th December, 1754.

In the Maid's Head Lodge Brethren acted as Stewards, for the evening, for the first time, on the 7th June, 1775. No regular appointment was, however, made when the other Officers were appointed. These Stewards were probably only appointed for the evening, when necessary, on account of numbers, and extra persons were needed to cope with the work. Stewards would, of course, become necessary as soon as Old Dundee Lodge transferred to its own premises, and had not the assistance of the Tavern staff, hence their appointment for the first time in 1764.

I very much doubt whether only the Tyler is meant when Bro. Heiron refers to "Tyler and Drawer." It would be more likely that two persons were

indicated, the Tyler, and the Drawer or Tapster. The word "Drawer" is only quoted by Bro. Heiron between the years 1749 and 1757. Throughout this period the Lodge met at the "Dundee Arms." Bro. Heiron gives no references to similar entries after the Lodge met upon its own freehold. A Drawer did, undoubtedly, mean a Tapster sometimes, and in the Minutes of the Lodge of Felicity No. 58 we find, under date 6th April, 1737, the following entry:—"By the consent of the Lodge WILLM.COULSTON Drawer to the House was made a Mason Gratis." The Minutes of the Union Coffee House Lodge for 13th December, 1750, inform us that: "At this Lodge It was unanimously agreed That Mr. Christopher Berry and Mr. Levi Barlow be admitted Members of this Lodge the next Lodge night and also that Saml. Leech the Drawer in the House be made a Brother at the same time." I suggest that, in the Old Dundee Lodge, the Tyler received 1/6, and the Drawer 6d., or when the Tyler performed both duties 2/-. The sum of 1/6d. was the fee "according to the custom of other Lodges," who no doubt also employed a Drawer or Tapster. The Tyler to Old Dundee Lodge appears to have received the fees of both Tyler and Drawer after the Lodge began to occupy its own freehold.

Again, Bro. Heiron would have us believe that the Mops and Pails, so frequently purchased by the Tyler, were only used for ceremonial or ritualistic purposes. I can only say that, whereas they may have been sometimes so used, yet there is a strong probability that they were used far more frequently for the prosaic purpose of cleaning the Lodge rooms. Although it is stated that the practice of drawing the Lodge was in existence as far back as 1748, there are no references given to Mops and Pails during the Tavern period of the Lodge's history, which ended in 1763. It is only when the Lodge occupies its own premises that these entries appear. In 1766 Pails were purchased, and I suggest that they were for domestic purposes. On the 14th June, 1798, the Tyler is paid for a "Mop & Brush." It has not been suggested that the Brush was for ceremonial purposes. On the 11th April, 1799, the Tyler is paid for "one Mop & Mending the Poker." If the Mop is for ceremonial purposes why should not the Poker also be so considered? Bro. Heiron does not tell us the number of makings in each year. A Mop a year, and sometimes at even shorter intervals, appear to be the rate of wastage. The number of makings would, therefore, have to have been very great and consistently so, or why such frequent purchases? The Tyler had, however, certain domestic duties to perform, because we are told, in the Minutes of Old Dundee Lodge for 24th September, 1767, that it was resolved that: "If the Tyler do not clean the Lodge in 3 days after Lodge Night, the Stewards shall employ some other person, and their Wages shall be stopt out of the Tyler's Salary." (*Old Dundee Lodge*, page 250.) These duties would certainly necessitate the use, by the Tyler, of both Mop and Pail. Unless, therefore, the entries as to charladies are very numerous, their employment may have been by the Stewards, under the above quoted resolution, or they may have been required at the periodical spring-cleaning. Again, if the "Linnen Cloth," which was purchased in 1781, was for use as a tracing sheet, as suggested by Bro. Heiron, why the necessity for the Tyler drawing the Lodge after that date.

With regard to the period of the evening when the Degrees were conferred, I can supplement Bro. Heiron's evidence, as to the making of Masons before the Supper and general Lodge business. By the 5th By-Law of the Lodge, meeting at the Saracen's Head, Lincoln, and constituted in September, 1730, it is provided that upon an Initiation "the Ma^r. and Wardens shall then appoint the Members to meet the next Lodge Night two hours sooner than usual in order to make him a Mason that he may be initiated in the lodge forthwith." (*A.Q.C.* iv., 101.) Again, by the 3rd By-Law of the Lodge, meeting at the Angel Inn, Great Yarmouth, and constituted in June, 1751, it was agreed that "Upon the last Thursday in every Calendar Month, a regular Lodge shall be held at the sign of the Angel, now Bro^r. Cottingham (he reserving for that purpose the Dining Room)," &c., and on the 25th July, 1754, the Lodge passed a resolution as follows:—". . . . & that Supper so provided be on the

Table at eight o'clock in the Summer season, & seven o'clock in the winter except the making any new Member or Members, then as the Business of the Even^g. will admitt." These were the hours in Summer and Winter at which, according to the 9th By-Law, the Lodge was to be opened. (*Norfolk Freemasonry*, by le Strange, pp. 68-70.)

Bro. Heiron has stated that sometimes a circular method of putting the questions was adopted, and the queries went round the table. It may be of interest to the Brethren to know that this circular method of working the Lectures was practised, at Norwich, in Perseverance Lodge No. 213 (an Antient Lodge) as late as 1849. In the Minutes of several Meetings about this time it is recorded that "Questions and Answers were wrought round." (*Norfolk Freemasonry*, by le Strange, p. 183.)

The Discipline of the Lodge is a very wide subject, and much might be said upon the various By-Laws concerning Discipline, and the effect they had upon Lodge Membership, and often upon the very existence of the Lodge itself. Amongst those quoted by Bro. Heiron none deal with dismissal from the Lodge for non-attendance. Perhaps, being a sea Lodge, non-attendance was not considered such a crime as in some Lodges. For instance, in the Great Lodge, constituted at Swaffham, Norfolk, in December, 1764, at a Meeting held on the 5th February, 1769, George, 3rd Earl of Orford, and another member, were formally expelled for non-attendance; and in the Minutes it is recorded that their Arms "were taken down, and being first broke in pieces, were thrown upon the fire and burnt." With regard to the disciplinary powers of this Swaffham Lodge, and doubtless very many other Lodges of that period, I cannot do better than quote the words of the late Bro. Hamon le Strange. He said: "One useful lesson they may, perhaps, impress upon us, that it is never desirable to overload the Bye-laws of a Lodge with arbitrary and vexatious regulations interfering with the freedom and convenience of its Members, as such restrictions tend inevitably to discourage attendance and to break up the Lodge." (*A.Q.C.* xx., 246.)

Bro. Heiron's suggestion as to the use of the "Crimson Velvet Pall" is not, I am afraid, conclusive, and there are several reasons against it. In the first place, the word "Pall" does not necessarily mean a mort-cloth. Pall is derived from the Latin word, *pallium*, which means a cloak or mantle. In the *Student's English Dictionary*, by Dr. John Ogilvie (1915 Edition), I find the word defined as "An outer mantle of dignity; a pallium; a large dark-coloured cloth thrown over a coffin at a funeral; a linen cloth to cover a chalice; a canopy, curtain or covering in general." In the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th Edition, we are told that "the chief applications of the word, in the sense of a covering, are to an altar frontal, to a linen cloth used to veil the chalice in the Catholic service of the Eucharist, and to a heavy black, purple or white covering for a coffin or hearse." Now, if the Pall purchased by Old Dundee Lodge was used ceremonially, we should expect to find it of the colours mentioned in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The colour, however, was crimson, which is certainly not a colour associated with mourning. It is significant to note that the Old Dundee Lodge had already a cushion for the Master's Chair, made of crimson velvet, for amongst the Lodge purchases for 1741 we find: "1741, Mar. 26. 1 Master's Chair . . . £18-18-0. Sept. 24. 1 Crimson Velvet Cushion for do. . . . £2-19-0." (*Old Dundee Lodge*, p. 23.) Four years later we find the Lodge purchasing its Crimson Velvet Pall. Might not this have been for a canopy for the Master's Chair, or for a covering for the Altar or Pedestal in front of the Master. Either of these alternative explanations are consistent with the definitions of Pall that I have quoted, and I put them forward for discussion.

Lastly as to Aprons. Union Coffee House Lodge, at Norwich provided Aprons for its Members, the price in 1763 being 1/3 each. The Aprons on the occasion of the Anniversary Feast for 1756 were evidently past their best, because, five days later, at a Meeting of the Master's Lodge, the Minutes record that it was "Order'd, That clean aprons be provided against next Lodge

Night, and that for the future they be annually provided against St. John's Night June ye 24th." Gloves at 4/- a pair were also provided for the Initiates out of the Making fee. In the Maid's Head Lodge, at Norwich, the custom of providing aprons also existed. On the 15th July, 1755, the Lodge passed a resolution that: "there be new Aprons for ye Master & Wardens & lyn'd w[h] white." This was, doubtless, to emphasize the dignity of these Offices, and tallies with the similar custom prevailing in Old Dundee Lodge.

There are several other customs, referred to by Bro. Heiron, that I should have liked to have commented upon, but I fear that I have already exhausted the patience of all those who will either hear or read these notes. My excuse for inflicting myself upon you at this length is because I feel that, in the first place, all ambiguous items in Lodge Minutes should be considered from every point of view before any definite deductions are made as to their true meaning, and, in the second place, that the interest in old customs is intensified by a knowledge of their similarity or otherwise to customs in other Lodges. By means of examples from other Lodge Records comparisons can be made, and the universality of customs, perhaps, proved.

Bro. J. E. S. Tuckett *writes*:—

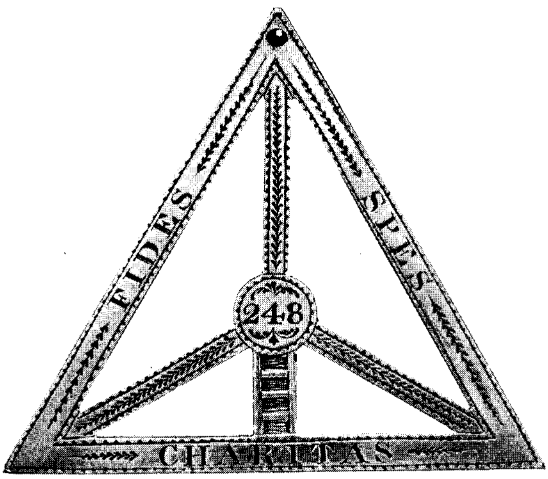
The records of Old Dundee—a Lodge which *may* have existed before 1713 and has certainly since its Constitution completed two hundred years of continuous work—have enabled Bro. Heiron to present to us an extremely interesting and on the whole a very pleasing picture of Masonic life during the eighteenth century. If it cannot be said that the author of the paper has brought to light very much of importance which was not already known from other sources, still the paper has this special value that it is based entirely upon the experiences of one Lodge and that one which never varied in its loyalty and obedience to one system, that of the Grand Lodge from which its Constitution was derived.

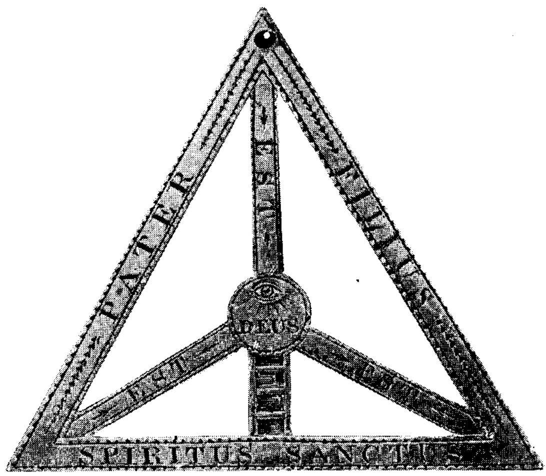
We thus have, thanks to Bro. Heiron, a fairly complete account of what a *pre*-Union Modern Lodge was like, that is to say, if it happened to be situated in or near to the Metropolis. This qualification is necessary because there is reason to question to what extent (if any) Lodges already existing in the Provinces, when they accepted Constitutions from the premier Grand Lodge, changed or modified their ancient customs and methods of working. The 'differences' which distinguished the London Lodges (with one or two notable exceptions) of the Moderns from those under the rival or Antients Grand Lodge are well known, but it is open to doubt whether those same 'differences' obtained to anything like the same extent in regions more remote from headquarters. In one Province the evidence goes to show that in the eighteenth century Moderns and Antients worked the same Ritual, and it is clear that no change was made in consequence of the Union in 1813. The Brethren of this Province are confident that they are using to-day this same Ritual which has been handed down to them without material change since the earlier half of the last century but one. For example, those who are familiar with the writings of Bro. Laurence Dermott will remember that in *Ahiman Rezon* (3rd edition) he is particularly sarcastic in his description of the Moderns' method of approach from West to East in the various Degrees. It may be of interest to mention that the observances here referred to seem never to have formed part of the Ritual peculiar to the Province in question.

In the Province of Bristol Modern Lodges appointed Deacons, the earliest reference being in the Minutes of the Lodge at the Crown in Christmas Street, No. 220, under date 18th December, 1758. The Minutes of the same Lodge, under dates 7th and 13th August of the same year, 1758, contain the earliest known English record of an actual Royal Arch meeting, and this, it is to be remarked, took place in a Modern Craft Lodge. There is plenty of evidence that what was done in the Crown Lodge was done in other Bristol Modern Lodges, and, further, that in Bristol the Royal Arch was not restricted to Past

Masters, or even to 'Passed' Masters, except during a brief period subsequent to the Union. Sunday was the usual day for celebrating the mysteries of the Holy Royal Arch, in which respect Bristol was not singular, as this appears to have been the custom in many parts of the country. Bro. Heiron tells us that the Old Dundee 'Masters' Lodges' of 1754-69 were held 'at first on Sundays,' which to some extent supports his view that the Royal Arch was worked at those assemblies.

In a note Bro. Heiron expresses confidence that in the eighteenth century Old Dundee was 'closed with Prayer,' and surely none will hesitate to agree with him. But he adds 'for many years undoubtedly a *Christian Prayer*,' and it is not clear upon what evidence he bases this somewhat remarkable claim. The venerable Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality, now No. 187, was No. 248 from 1791 until the Union in 1813. A photograph is exhibited showing the





two sides of a 'Chaplain's Jewel' in its possession, which is distinctly Trinitarian Christian. The survival of Christian Prayers and emblems in the Craft is a point of very considerable interest and importance.

From the fact that no Deacons were employed until 1810 Bro. Heiron concludes that, in the Ritual which was worked in Old Dundee there could have been no definite perambulation of the Lodge by the Candidate prior to that date. That this conclusion is not well founded is proved by the following extract from a manuscript copy of the Lectures bearing an inscription dated 1793, but from internal evidence much earlier:—

> Q. Who first came to your assistance?
> A. The J.W. of the Lodge.
>
> . . . . .
>
> Q. How did your L(eader) dispose of you?
> A. . . . the J.W. friendly t(ook) me by t(he) h(and) and I moved u(p) the (North) round the R.W.M. in the E(ast); down the (South) and d(elivered) me o(ver) to t(he) S.W. in the (West).

At more than one point in the Paper the 'Drawing,' 'Forming,' or 'Framing' of the 'Lodge' on the floor is dealt with at considerable length. In Bristol in the eighteenth century the plan was to lay out on a Board with a painted border metallic representations of the various objects including the Letters, the Star, the Pillars, Squared Pavement (in perspective), and even (apparently) a small model of the Temple which still exists. Several sets of these metal objects are preserved in the Museum, but none is complete, so that it is difficult to say what constituted a perfect set. This method of working the Tracing Board is in use at the present day in the Lower Lodge Room.

Now, excepting the minor detail of Tape and Tacks for the border, it appears to be this very method which is ridiculed in the newspaper paragraph of 1726:—

> showing what Innovations have lately been introduced by the Doctor and some other of the Moderns, with their Tape, Jacks (Tacks), Moveable Letters, Blazing Stars, &c. to the great indignity of the Mop and Pail.

It is rather curious to find in Bristol working a survival of what, justly or unjustly, was in 1726 denounced as an 'innovation' of the Moderns, that is the newly created Grand Lodge of 1717.

The Old Dundee custom of 'Making' Masons and communicating the Secrets in a smaller apartment, adjoining the Lodge Room proper, reminds us of the passages in the *Harris No. 1 MS.* (late seventeenth century), *Chetwode Crawley MS.* (early eighteenth), and *Dumfries No. 3 MS.* (also early eighteenth), which describe the Candidate as taken 'into another Room,' or 'removed out of the Company,' or taken 'aside,' to receive instruction from one told off to perform the duty.

Bro. F. H. Goldney, P.M., No. 2076, possesses a very interesting 'Entered Apprentice Charge' in the handwriting of his great grandfather, Bro. Michael Burrough, of Salisbury, and written in or about 1770. Bro. Goldney very kindly lent me the original with permission to copy it and communicate the contents to Masonic students, and my transcript is now exhibited. The first fourteen lines are commonplace, but the remainder is unlike any other version of an E.A. Charge with which I am acquainted. It will be noticed that the Candidate received the first and second degrees together.

Bro. Robert I. Clegg (Ohio), said:—

What an enviable and truly distinctive situation is that of the essayist. Our Brother Heiron has found in the cherished possessions of his Lodge, Old Dundee, recorded characteristics of ceremonial and other peculiarities touching Masonic practice at home and abroad, near and afar. May we not indulge a very earnest and lively expectation that the Brethren in contact with the fund of similar information concerning other Masonic bodies will be encouraged by the success of Brother Heiron's researches to bring before this Lodge essays of like purpose for our edification in the future? Much must, indeed, be available, especially in this Mecca of Freemasonry, this London of pioneer Craft workmanship centuries old.

Here, in London, I have noted the use of the three lighted candles arranged in triangular form at the centre of the room, a rare circumstance in England so far as my experience goes, but common enough in the Western hemisphere. Though there, I must hasten to add, we do not use six lighted candles, one at each of the stations as well as three on the floor, as on one occasion was seen in an English Lodge.

There has also been noted in another very old Lodge in London a custom that is, I daresay, of far from modern origin. This is to contribute a more realistic element to the use of the floor cloth in the rendition of the Master Mason's Degree. Unless I am greatly mistaken this is a practice still followed in many Continental Lodges. My inability to visit these bodies prevents me from being quite positive on this point. The Grand Lodge to which I owe allegiance does not recognise the Lodges likely to adopt this procedure on the Continent, and, therefore, I am unable to say from actual observation of the ceremonies whether the old custom still abides there, though at last enquiries I was assured the condition prevails.

Wearing the hat by the Worshipful Master in the East or by whoever occupies the position is, as Brother Heiron mentions, a common usage in the Lodges of the United States of America. Headgear, if I may employ this

matter-of-fact expression for what is oft a very elaborate and showy, not to say gorgeous, covering of the head, is also to be found displayed elsewhere as by the three officials of the Grand Council in a Chapter of Royal Arch Masons. As badges of authority I have seen a Grand Master, when visiting during his term of office another Grand Lodge than his own, wear the silk hat as well as his distinguishing apron and gavel.

When in a Lodge of the United States of America any Brother for whatever purpose assumes the position of the Worshipful Master in the East he puts on his head the hat of authority. While the practice has not gone without criticism in some directions as being too archaic for the present day, yet here, as in sundry activities of religious organizations elsewhere, the survival exhibits strong vitality and may long endure in my country from all current indications.

What Brother Heiron says of the three-corned hat recalls to mind that this relic of Colonial days is in the United States of America flourishing in one Grand Jurisdiction at least. The Grand Master of Massachusetts, as I can aver from personal observation when visiting the Grand Lodge less than a year ago at Boston, wore a three-cornered hat significant of the time when Grand Master Paul Revere, the hero of Longfellow's famous poem on the Midnight Ride, was likewise acting in the chair of King Solomon. I am not aware of any Lodge or Grand Lodge in the United States of America other than the honoured one of Massachusetts that retains this custom.

While we are considering the use of the apron and its form, let me direct your attention to a circumstance that has always had an attraction not altogether devoid of puzzling peculiarities. On St. John's Day, December 27, 1749, at Boston, Massachusetts, the Grand Lodge celebrated the festival by attending Christ Church. Here a sermon was preached by the Reverend Brother Charles Brockwell. After the service the Brethren repaired in procession to the Royal Exchange Tavern where, as the record tells us, "an elegant dinner was provided at which were several gentlemen of note, besides the Fraternity." This information is contained in the *Boston Evening Post* as well as the *Boston Post Boy* of the following January 1, 1749/1750. See also 1 Mass. 9, also 1883, 165, and pages 214 to 215 of *Freemasonry in America Prior to 1750*, by Brother Melvin M. Johnson, P.G.M., being an address delivered by him on September 13, 1916.

An original copy of the above sermon, entitled "Brotherly Love Recommended," was printed and published at Boston immediately by John Draper, Newburg Street, and one of these is now in possession of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, containing also the vote of thanks to the preacher passed by the Grand Lodge.

Now a burlesque account of the procession of the Grand Lodge on that date was also circulated at the time by its author, Joseph Green, and reprinted in 1795, and is also to be found in 1 Mass. 473, as well as in the *American Freemason*, Volume III., November, 1911, page 13, and in the *History of Freemasonry*, page 1569, and in these two latter places I have dealt somewhat freely with the subject. Principally the significant point to me is that the poet refers to the Brethren as "in scarlet aprons drest." Doubtless this was typical of the status in degrees beyond the first three of the Lodge system enjoyed by the Brethren in the procession. The Masters Lodge at Boston has a record of having purchased on December 9, 1738, "4 yards Green Coating and 3¼ yards Scarlet Riband." On July 18, 1741, there was bought 2¼ yards Double Gold Lace. I also see that the *Boston Gazette*, July 2, 1739, mentions the St. John's Day procession with the Brethren "properly cloathed and distinguished with badges." So it is easy for us to surmise the purpose of these purchases though we may not conjecture with sure readiness over the particular choice of the colours made use of by the old Brethren of this venerable jurisdiction.

Let me further mention in closing the valuable references to be found upon a subject of this kind in such contributions to this Lodge as the one by Brother E. H. Dring. These deserve an especial word or two at least of cordial praise from me in appreciation of their worth, if only considered from my own American point of view.

Under the heading of "Drawing the Lodge, Framing the Lodge, Forming the Lodge," Brother Heiron reproduces the item given by Brother Henry Sadler in his inaugural address as Worshipful Master of Quatuor Coronati Lodge in 1911, and credited by that Brother to a newspaper published in 1726. The reference runs in part as follows:—

> shewing what Innovations have lately been introduced by the Doctor and some other of the Moderns, with their Tape, Jacks, Moveable letters, Blazing Stars, etc.

The word "Jacks" is usually supposed, as in the essay by Brother Heiron, to mean "tacks." I do not recall any other significance given to it in print. In fact, the allusion in the *Three Distinct Knocks*, also quoted by Brother Heiron, says:—

> But People have taken Notice and made game of them about the Mop and Pail; so some Lodges use Tape and little Nails to form the same thing.

Of course, these explanations are Masonically unauthorized. They were also, in 1760 or thereabouts, long subsequent to the utterance of 1726, and we may, perhaps not unfairly, assume that the reasons alleged to account for a condition prevailing perchance in 1760 might be far from accurate applied to the circumstance of a much earlier year.

But, be that as it may, is there any other plausible surmise than that "Jacks" means "Tacks"?

On examining the sentence we see that "Moveable letters" are mentioned, and these are to be found in use by Lodges whose ceremonies have a very respectable age indeed. These letters are accompanied, as I saw on a recent visit to Freemasons' Hall at Bristol, with other representations in metal, and painted, of various symbolic devices familiar in the explanatory lectures. Could these further items by any possibility be termed "Jacks"?

Now the South-East Coast of Ireland, the West and South of Lancashire, and Cheshire are easily within reach of Bristol. Years ago in these districts there was a game played by children and known to some as "Jacks" and to others as "Jacks and Stones." This game was played on the stone flagging, steps, or pavement with a hard, pottery or glass, ball with sundry—say, half-a-dozen—small cubes or similar objects about an inch or less in thickness. While the ball bounces once upon the stone flagging of the side-walk, the hand that threw down the ball snatches up one of the objects, and then catches the ball on the rebound. From picking up one object at a time, the game is made more difficult by a further attempt to handle two, three, and so on up to half-a-dozen. There is another variation of the game in which the objects are laid down in a certain order as to number deposited at a time, and sometimes the objects are placed in patterns or on diagrams marked out for the purpoe. The game in its various developments is not only old but called for considerable dexterity of hand and quickness of eye.

Anyone familiar with the rhythmic playing of this game and wishing to ridicule a certain use of symbolic objects as they are placed successively in order on any surface during a ritualistic ceremony, could logically employ the word under consideration. "Jacks" certainly has a pastime significance, as in "Jackstraws" and doubtless other uses.

While I frankly admit the foregoing comments are not any too conclusive, yet they may add another avenue of approach wherein so far the word "tacks" is usually questioned and has evidently been submitted in the hope that something else would be more promising or that sometime it would find sufficient support to get rid of the accompanying interrogation point. I offer the suggestion with all diffidence as an alternative proposition.

I am indebted to Brother E. Pickstone, of Manchester, for confirming my own recollections of the game as played in Lancashire.

Bro. R. J. Meekren *writes*:—

"The Triangular form of the Lodge." It is equally triangular with the J.W. in the S. if the position of the three chief officers fixes the form. In this case it is (ideally) an isosceles right angled triangle with the base East and West. In the Modern and present Continental placing of the Wardens it is an elongated isosceles triangle with the base North and South.

"An altar . . . invariably situate in the centre of the Lodge room." Here one would like to know if there be any indication in the records of Old Dundee as to its position relative to the 'lodge,' *i.e.*, the diagram. Was it in the centre of that or at one end? This would be the really significant point.

Again, it would appear as if some little confusion had arisen about American practice. The "Dueguard" of American working is derived from, or alludes to, the method of obligating, but the expression or term "dueguard" is not so derived, and would appear to have often been used in the eighteenth century for the position which in England is now called "order," but is not the same as the American dueguard. One would judge from sundry items of evidence, among which the well-known engravings called "Assemblé des Francmaçons" might be numbered, that in eighteenth century working in France the I.G. existed in fact, even if not a regularly appointed officer with a fixed title.

There being no deacons does not necessarily imply that there was no perambulation. Apparently the J.W. often performed the present-day Deacon's part of conducting the Candidate. Perhaps in other Lodges the latter's sponsor would do it, as is the case still in Pennsylvania. In the working of that State the J.W. and the Brother who recommended the Candidate, between them perform all the functions that elsewhere in the U.S.A. devolve on the Stewards and the Senior Deacon.

One would like to know exactly what Bro. Heiron means by the statement that "the Ritual worked by the Moderns was rather crude and curtailed." As compared with the Antients, or as compared with present-day workings? And does he mean to imply by 'curtailed' that at an earlier date they had been more extensive? And, in the following paragraph, are we to understand from the first statement that Bro. Heiron has reason to think that any alternative method to that of using symbols pictured in the diagram was ever used?

Is there any reason to think that Laurence Dermott had No. 9 in view specially, and that he was not referring to Modern practice generally? I should myself be more inclined to understand Dermott's gibes at the 'Modern' *drawing* in the light of the extract from "The Three Distinct Knocks," which is quoted, especially the sentence, "which is all the Drawing that is used in this sort of Masonry, called the Most Antient by the Irishmen." The diagram here referred to is very simple and has no pictured emblems at all.

And I should further very much question the statement in parenthesis that "Jachin and Boaz" was "the version of the Moderns." This pamphlet gives some of the 'Modern' practice, but its lectures are the same as T.D.K., which certainly affects to be Antient.

It may be of interest to note that in the U.S.A. generally the lectures are still supposed to be worked. In many jurisdictions a point of the I.M.'s Ob. is that he will not close a Lodge in any degree without giving or causing to be given the proper lecture or some part of it. This in actual practice has resulted in a few Q.'s and A.'s of the lecture being incorporated into the opening and closing ceremonies, and outside this the lectures are as little worked as in England. But there is no doubt that the lectures were considered, if not essential, a very important part of the ceremonies of Initiation in the U.S.A. no longer than sixty or seventy years ago. As the lectures covered the ritual—that is the ceremony proper—and described and explained it, to know the lectures was in effect to know the ritual. As a matter of fact, the phraseology of the lecture has in many places in the U.S.A. re-acted on the ritual proper, and it is a rather curious effect that what was in the first place a description of what was done, should be taken in that form and incorporated into the doing! This

shows a generation of Masons who were very familiar with the lectures, but not over gifted with critical ability or knowledge. On most of the points on which I have touched I should like further light. One feels that Bro. Heiron, having access to original documents, may have reasons for his opinions not generally known. There is, however, so much that is valuable in the paper that one has no real ground for complaint.

Bro. W. J. Songhurst said:—

It is possible that from the entries in the Minute Book of Old Dundee Bro. Heiron may be able to explain the payment to Benjamin Cole on 13 February 1752 for "500 Prints and altering Plate." Benjamin Cole was a Copper plate printer and engraver, and at this time he was employed by Grand Lodge to engrave the official Lists of Lodges. He also engraved for Private Lodges the plates from which their blank letters or summonses were printed. The point on which I should like some information is as to the alteration of the plate. It would naturally be assumed that an alteration became necessary because the Lodge had moved from one house to another, but so far as we are aware the Lodge was then still meeting at the Dundee Arms, which had been its home since 1747, and apparently it remained there until its removal to Red Lion Street in 1764. It seems possible that an examination of the Minute Book may give a meeting place in 1752 not officially recorded. Lodges in those days were not careful in making prompt reports of their removals to the Grand Secretary, and an example of this laxity is found in connexion with this very Lodge, which, according to the official List of 1765, was then still meeting at the Dundee Arms, although it had actually moved to its private rooms in the previous year.

Bro. Heiron suggests that the wafers "the size of a Crown," purchased in 1756, were used for fastening up the summonses, but I think that they were over-large for that purpose and that they might with more probability have been intended for the sealing of Certificates issued to Brethren when they gave up their membership.

Bro. Heiron is very insistent upon what he terms "The Triangular form of the Lodge," but this as it appears to me is a very misleading expression. He goes so far as to quote from Mackey on the symbolism of the *equilateral* triangle, and suggests that this was the actual form of Lodges in early days and down to 1813, when, as he states, the form of a triangle was abandoned "to comply with the requests put forward by the Antients." But Bro. Heiron does not provide us with any evidence that Lodges were ever arranged in the form of a triangle, whether equilateral or otherwise. Clearly if the three principal officers are placed anyhow but in a straight line, an imaginary triangle can at once be assumed, but that does not necessarily affect the "form of the Lodge," which would only become triangular if the members present were placed along the three sides of the triangle; or otherwise if the drawing on the floor, or its equivalent, were depicted in a triangular form with illuminants at the three points. I quite admit a probability, amounting almost to a certainty, that in England as elsewhere some Lodges seated their principal officers E., N.W., and S.W., and in this connexion it may be noted that on 28 November 1787 the Grand Lodge of England (Moderns) resolved that "all questions for decision be read at the lower end of the Hall next the Grand Wardens' chairs as well as in the usual place." This appears to define the practice in Grand Lodge at that time, but I should hesitate to say that it represents a general custom even in London Lodges, and Old Dundee seems to have been rather out of touch with practice elsewhere if we may judge by its obstinacy in the days of Lord Blayney, which nearly led to its erasure.

I suggest that Bro. Heiron should commend rather than condemn the Antients for their zeal in the retention of original forms. But for this zeal we should now be using a form of ritual essentially different from that of all other English-speaking Lodges throughout the world. The alterations made by the

Moderns in or about 1730 were of such a nature that the Grand Lodge remained entirely unrecognized by all Masonic bodies other than those which it had called into being. Fortunately, its members ultimately saw the error of their ways. They admitted frankly that they had made variations in the established forms, and they enjoined their Lodges to revert to the ancient Landmarks of the Society. The Lodge of Promulgation was formed by the Moderns from their own body without interference of any kind by the Antients, and it was to the directions of this Lodge of Promulgation that the old Past Master in 1810 took such serious objection. One may sympathize with him, but the blame must rest upon the Moderns, who, eighty years or so earlier, had made the alterations; and not upon the Antients, who had carefully preserved the original forms.

I am not much impressed by Bro. Heiron's arguments in favour of the writings of Dr. Oliver. I say nothing against his character as a man, a Mason, or a Clergyman, but I do say that his *Revelations of a Square* is a work of fiction. Oliver did not intend that anyone should believe that an old silver Square actually raised itself upon its limbs and dictated to him the contents of the book, and, in fact, he calls the Square an "imaginary medium." It does not increase credibility to be told that Oliver was "practically the only old writer on the life of the Craft in the 18th Century, to whom we can now refer." Oliver rather gives himself away by a footnote on page 165, where he says that a certain anecdote was "A literal fact," thereby leading the reader to infer that other statements need not be so accepted. If he did really intend us to accept all his tales as serious history, then we have to bear in mind that he depended for accuracy upon his own memory, upon the memory of his friends, upon the memory of his father, and upon the memory of his father's friends. In another of his books (*History of Initiation*, 1841 edition, page xiii.) he says: "I must depend principally upon the strength of my memory, which is not particularly retentive." But we need not attempt to define the relative culpability for mis-statements. It is sufficient to show that mis-statements were undoubtedly made or accepted by Dr. Oliver. It may be noted as one example that he brings together Brethren who are known not to have been Masonic contemporaries. Furthermore, we are able to check his tale that Martin Clare revised the Masonic lectures by referring to the Minute Book of the Lodge in which is written the statement on which Oliver relies. There we find that the word is not *revised*, but *revived*, and, moreover, we know that the Lectures thus revived were not those of catechetical instruction, but essays on scientific and such-like subjects. I suggest that this fact should be borne in mind when considering Anderson's statement that in 1721 Lectures were given by "some old Masons." Bro. Heiron will not be able to produce any evidence whatever that either Anderson, or Desaguliers, or Martin Clare, or Dunckerley, or Hutchinson ever prepared or revised any Masonic catechisms, and if the statements of the poor old Square are to be put forward as History without any independent support, we may wish that it had been made of a more precious metal and had exemplified the proverb that 'Silence is Golden.'

Bro. G. W. Bullamore *writes*:—

With regard to the seating of the Wardens, Bro. Heiron suggests that the present arrangement was brought about by the Antients in 1813 and that Bro. Clark Stanley resigned his membership in consequence of the abandonment of the "triangular" form of the Lodge.

The Minutes, however, merely state that Bro. Clark Stanley was not comfortable.

The position of the J.W. in the South was decided upon by the Lodge of Promulgation, their opinion that this was the correct position being based on the practice, apparently, of the Lodge of Antiquity (Moderns). It had been decided previously that Deacons were desirable, and as Dundee at once accepted

the Deacons, it is not unreasonable to suppose that that Lodge, represented on Promulgation by Bro. Walton, was sufficiently loyal to alter the position of the J.W., assuming that they had hitherto stationed him in the West. The G.L. of the Moderns having accepted the South in 1809 as the correct position for the J.W., it is difficult to accept Bro. Heiron's view that the alteration was made in 1813 to comply with requests from the Antients.

I have made this comment because I am very desirous of arriving at some working hypothesis with regard to the two forms of the Lodge. At present I am inclined to believe that while the "triangular" (Wardens in the West) form represented descent from a Lodge of Fellows, the other form, based on the right angle, represented descent from a Lodge of Masters. It is possible that our Masonry derives from these two sources, and although the Fellows could confer no higher degree, the Masters could quite well confer the lower degrees. When the practice of holding the Lodges for the different degrees on different evenings fell into disuse, the necessity of moving the furniture would be overcome by placing it as for the third degree throughout.

Bro. C. Walton Rippon *writes*:—

The interesting account of a Bi-Centenary Lodge given by Bro. Heiron calls for no criticism from me, and I must express my thanks for some of the items therein appearing, on which my provincial Brethren have accused me of drawing a "long bow" when I have brought them forward. The use of a "Making Room" is indicated in Slade's *Free-Mason Examined* of 1740, where the Candidate is described as being led by the hand into a very dark room, and the door being shut, afterwards "a Door flew open and discovered a Room extremely light . . . Thus was I brought out of Darkness into Light."

That Lectures were in common use early in the eighteenth century is evident from the Minutes of Grand Lodge, December 27th 1721, where it is recorded: "This Communication was made very interesting by the Lectures of some old Masons."

The appointment by the Lodge of two Deacons in 1810 suggests the query Who did the work that the Deacons now perform?

Again referring to Slade, we find that he tells us that after the Ob. "He ordered the Wardens, who stood on each side of me, to raise me on my Feet, and take off the White Robe."

In *A Ritual of Freemasonry*, published by Reeves, also unorthodox and perhaps of American origin, it is stated: "The S.W. receives the Candidate and leads him up to within two paces." In this Ritual it is also said: "These 3 burning tapers standing in triangular form are the representatives of the three lesser lights in Masonry. They represent the Sun, Moon, and Master of the Lodge."

May I venture to suggest that the flaming sword was not used as a symbol of the authority of the Master, but of T.G.A.O.T.U.?

In some Scottish Lodges at the present time plain aprons are provided for the use of the Brethren and visitors.

The triangular form of the Lodge seems to me to indicate that the excessive 'squaring' now practised is an innovation and not to be commended.

The delineation of the Symbols and Emblems with chalk and charcoal probably had an esoteric meaning which we now find explained in the seventh section of the First Lecture (Emulation).

Is it not possible that Dermott, in his *Ahiman Rezon*, when referring to Jamaica Rum and Barbadoes Rum, did this purposely that he might not disclose the p——w——s even though they were those of his opponents?

I feel very strongly that if the Lectures were worked regularly, our Candidates, and, in fact, the Brethren generally, would know more of what Masonry is and understand our ceremonial much better than is at present the case.

Bro. Gilbert S. Shadwell (New York), *writes*:—

I cannot say how very interested I was to read Bro. Arthur Heiron's paper on "The Craft in the Eighteenth Century."

It was worth noting, also, that he tends to bear out my recent suggestion that much of the old forms are still retained in the work in the United States. On the whole, his allusions to U.S. work are correct, and in the few cases of error, perhaps I may be permitted to make amendents; also, perhaps, you may be interested if I amplify the allusions and analogies. Under the heading "A few items of interest," it would be valuable if more information could be given as to the 1° and 2° being *always* given to the Candidate on the same night. This is a subject which has, of course, received much attention in *A.Q.C.* since its inception, but it seems that much more is yet to be learned.

As to the By-Laws being signed, this is done, almost universally in the U.S.A. At the conclusion of the 3° in this State, at any rate, the W.M. tells the Candidate or Candidates: "You will now repair to the Secretary's desk and consummate your membership in ——— Lodge by signing the By-Laws." This is usually a form of register, and particulars of the Candidate generally are entered against his name, such as "when born," "date of Raising," &c., &c. If a Brother should demit from one Lodge and affiliate with another, he might be duly elected, but he will not become a member of the new Lodge until he has "Consummated his membership" by signing the By-Laws.

Under the heading "An 18th Century Lodge, its form and appearance," I am not clear as to what is meant in Section 1. Does Bro. Heiron mean that the Brethren sat in triangular formation, or was the "Making Room" of that shape, or just what? In the Chapters in the U.S.A. the Altar is triangular, and, of course, the triangle bears an important place in the R.A. degree, but there is no triangular formation of the Companions *as a whole*. I have never seen an American (Craft or Blue) Lodge having a triangular formation such as Bro. Heiron mentions. However, there are, it is true, some Lodges composed for the main part of other nationalities in this country, and they, I know, have tried to import some of their native ideas of the work, although acting under Charters of one or other of the Grand Lodges of this country. Under Section 2, it is true that in every Lodge in the U.S.A. that I have visited, the Altar is in the centre of the Lodge—also the W.M. leaves his Chair to administer the Ob.; when he does so, he removes his hat. In Massachusetts he . . . at the Altar with the Candidates, but not so in N.Y., N.J., Pa., or other Eastern States that I know of. However, may I take exception to the explanation of the "Due Guard" given by Bro. Heiron? This is the position of the . . . while taking the Ob. It varies in each degree, but for obvious reasons I cannot describe the differences in writing. The words "D.G." mean that we duly must guard the secrets belonging to the degree—*i.e.*, the Sns, words, &c., belonging to each.

Under par. 3:—The rough and perfect Ashlars are (in my State) on the two sides of the W.M.'s dais, and the "trestle-board," consisting of a black board (about 18in. by 24in.) with some Masonic design on it in white, is set up on the floor leaning against the W.M.'s pedestal. Bro. Heiron and other English Masons make one big mistake in assuming that all Lodges are the same throughout the United States—this is far from the truth; there are no two workings absolutely alike in the U.S.A. For example, nothing could be more unlike than the workings in Pennsylvania and New York. The Candles are now

frequently electrically lighted in the larger cities, towns, and villages—they are placed at three of the four corners of the Altar, one N.E., and the others N.W. and S.W. In Massachusetts they are set at the right of the W.M., S.W., and J.W.. The W.'s columns are employed in N.Y. State as in England, but in Massachusetts they are absent and the Wardens have plain black batons.

In pars. 4 and 5 Bro. Heiron is right; the Columns usually are surmounted with the globes, but are *not always* in the W.; but an evidence of old usage as mentioned in par. 5 is seen in an English G.L. Certificate. Bro. Heiron is also right in par. 6, although within the past few years Masters have occasionally exercised their right of discarding the high hat as they also discard evening dress. As to par. 8 a plain white lambskin apron is presented to each "E.A." in N.Y. State and most others. All members take a plain white cotton or linen apron from a common box, which aprons are easily laundered. Officers have their set aprons, each having the emblem of his office embroidered upon the centre of it; in other respects (except for the fact that silk tasselled cords instead of 'belts' are used to tie the aprons on) the aprons are similar to English Aprons, but the rosettes and Masters' emblems are omitted. The P.M. jewel is about the same as the Antient P.M.'s used to use—any M.M. can wear the diagram of Euclid I. 47, but, of course, not the square. As to par. 10, this is correct. I have never heard of an Inner Guard in the United States; the duties of that officer are performed by the J.D. As to par. 11, Candidates in my State usually wear a Roman Toga.

As to other parts of the paper, I have attended Chapters where smoking was permitted except during certain parts of the ceremony. Under the heading of "Drawing the Lodge," the extract from the Minutes about the "Linnen Cloth" is interesting. A canvas one is used in the 3° for a purpose which I must leave unexplained; this much I can say, that the 3° is dramatized in full. Under the heading of "Discipline in Lodge," in my State, when declaring the Lodge open, the Master adds the words: ". . . at the same time strictly forbidding all idle or immoral discourse, whereby the harmony of the same may be disturbed, under no less a penalty than the By-Laws of the Lodge provide or a majority of the Brethren see cause to inflict"—this is, doubtless, a survival of long ago, for nothing could be more decorous than American Lodges to-day; still they have kept up many, in fact, most, of the earliest traditions.

Bro. Arthur Heiron *writes* as follows, in reply:—

This paper on "The Craft in the 18th Century," although primarily intended for the young Mason, evidently appeals to a widespread audience judging from the fact that comments and criticisms have been received from nine Brethren, three of whom are Masonic experts hailing from the United States.

Some of the queries are very searching and scarcely fall within the compass of an ordinary reply. I desire here to state that many—but not all—of my quotations are taken from the records of the Dundee Lodge, No. 9 at Wapping, and *not* from the books of the Old Dundee Lodge, No. 18—this Lodge (the successor in title and in fact to No. 9) was not so named until 1835, and records after 1820 have little or no value to the Masonic student.

Bro. Lepper (W.M. 2076) in his extremely friendly and valuable comments hopes that one day a list of all the members of this old Lodge may be printed, but as for many years the surnames only were given and the addresses and occupations were not included until after 1784, such a list would have little or no value. The most interesting names have already been disclosed.

The fact that Lord Blayney (who was G.M. of the Moderns in England in 1766) was actually elected G.M. of Ireland in May, 1768 (although he resigned and never acted as such) is good evidence that the Antients in Ireland never really believed that Laurence Dermott's scathing criticisms of the Moderns were sincere or had much moral weight—if so, it is incredible that they should have ever been willing that a Modern G.M. should rule over them.

Bro. Lepper says that the "Masters' Lodges" in Cork in 1751 existed *solely* to confer the 3°; now Lodge No. 9 at Wapping also held Masters' Lodges from 1754 to 1769, and in their case the work in like manner consisted of *Raising Masters* (sometimes they even "made a Mason" in all three Degrees, if it were an urgent case), but this was not the main or primary reason for these so-called Masters' Lodges that were held at Wapping by Lodge No. 9, for there are some very cogent reasons for believing that these Lodges were sometimes used by the Moderns—or at any rate some of them—for the purpose of conferring the degree of Holy Royal Arch.

Bro. Daynes' useful and searching criticisms are cordially welcomed, for one of them has caused me to alter my opinion as to the real meaning of the "Crimson Velvet Pall, with Gold Fringe Lace, &c.," which was purchased by Lodge No. 9 in 1745 for £12 10. 0; I do not however believe that this was ever used as a Canopy for the Master's Chair, which latter item cost £18 18. 0 in 1741. This Chair was put up for sale by Public Auction in 1821 (with the rest of the Lodge's paraphernalia), and was thus described in the Sale Catalogue (the details of which can be read in "The Times" of 19th March, 1821) as:— "The Master's, Senior and Junior Wardens' Chairs, *superbly ornamented with carved gilt Emblems of Masonry*"; it will be seen that there was no reference to a Canopy. (By the way, if any old Lodge who might have purchased these valuable and antique Chairs in 1821 still possesses them, would kindly make known the fact, it would be highly interesting to the present members of No. 18.) The suggestion of a Canopy can therefore be ruled out, but Murray's *New English Dictionary* (1893) teaches us that the word "Canopy" was in use as far back as 1400, and if No. 9 had purchased one in 1745 its correct title would doubtless have been given. Murray, however, also tells us that the word *pall* may have meant either a mantle or cloak, or perhaps an altar cloth, and in view of this new information I am willing now to believe that the *pall* so purchased in 1745 by No. 9 was used to cover the Altar (in the centre of the Lodge), on which the V.S.L. rested, and as this *Altar Cloth* was made of "Crimson Velvet with Gold Fringe Lace" it must have indeed looked solemn and impressive. Bro. Daynes also suggests that the *Mops* purchased by the Tyler may have been merely used for cleaning the Lodge Rooms. I do not at all accept this view, although when they looked dirty it is quite possible that they were utilised for this mundane purpose, but as the item in question generally appears closely in connection with the special fee paid to the Tyler for 'Drawing the Lodge,' I firmly believe that the *Mops* (referred to in the Cash books of No. 9) were not only purchased by the Tyler, but, indeed, actually used for the purpose of the Ceremonial; for Candidates who paid an Inititation Fee of £2.2.0 surely deserved and would expect a clean Mop, and we drew the Lodge on the Floor right up to 1812. I think this interesting feature of our ancient ritual deserves amplifying and should not be minimised, for Bro. Tuckett's useful reminder that as far back as 1726 the use of the *Mop* and *Pail* was referred to in a public newspaper shows that the custom was even then well established. Besides the above argument, although the Tyler had to keep the Lodge clean, he also had women to assist him, as would be expected. Our Stewards purchased any articles of Ironmongery required for the Lodge's general use, whilst in 1801 our Charlady (Mrs. Benning) received £1.9.0 '*for cleaning Lodge*,' but I wish to emphasise the fact that it was our *Tyler* who chiefly purchased these Mops.

I also still believe that the expression *Tyler and Drawer* in Lodge No. 9 referred only to one person, viz., our Tyler. His duties as to 'Drawing the Lodge' were so constant and regular that it is reasonable to believe that the small additional payment which was made to him (over and above his usual Fees or Salary for Tyling) referred to extra services *re* the ceremonial work on the floor. In the days under discussion our Brethren met at the 'Dundee Arms,' Wapping, from 1747 to 1763 (sixteen years); it was then the Landlord's duty to clean the rooms used (once a fortnight) for the Lodge work, whilst the Porter (the favourite beverage drank in those days) would be drawn from the cask by the Potman (who would also carry it up to the door of the Lodge), and the

Tyler would then dispense same—for wine was not regularly used by the members till we met in our own Freehold in 1764—thus, prior to this date, no 'Drawer' would be needed to open the bottles of wine, but as the duties then became more onerous, we appointed two Stewards for the first time (viz., in 1764) as mentioned in my paper.

Bro. Tuckett tells us that in 1758 a Modern Lodge in Bristol (No. 220) used to appoint Deacons, and also that in the same year (1758) their records give us the earliest known English record of a R. Arch meeting in a Modern Craft Lodge. His query as to *Christian Prayers* being used in open Lodge seems to be answered by the fact that such prayers are printed not only in *Ahiman Rezon* but also in both the so-called chief exposures, viz., *The Three Distinct Knocks* (*circa* 1760) attributed to the Antients, and *Jachin and Boaz* (1764) ascribed to the Moderns, surely such publicity would not have been given, unless in some Lodges—at least—it was the practice to use same, which should be another proof that Dr. Anderson's attempt to eliminate all references to Christianity met with strong disapproval by many of our ancient Brethren.

I am also grateful to Bro. Tuckett for his reminder that in the very early days of the Craft the Candidate was *taken into another room to receive instruction*, as this may help to explain why Lodge No. 9 at Wapping (which had very old traditions) made such regular and constant use of their *Making Room*.

The method of working the Tracing Board as still practised at Bristol by laying out on a Board—with a painted border—metallic copies of the chief Masonic symbols, is very interesting and may indicate that perhaps the Antients favoured this method of instruction rather than 'Drawing the Lodge on the floor' in Chalk and Charcoal; if so, this may to some extent explain Dermott's criticism on this matter in Lodge No. 9 at Wapping.

Bro. Clegg (of Chicago)—whom I have already thanked for very useful and valued information as to the present customs of the Craft in the U.S.A.—sends some further comments which will be perused with great interest.

Bro. Meekren (the Editor of *The Builder*, St. Louis, U.S.A.) asks if the actual position of the Altar in Lodge No. 9 at Wapping is indicated by the Lodge's records. The answer—as might be expected—is in the Negative; my references to the Altar in the Lodge are obtained chiefly from the present practice in most Lodges of the U.S.A.; Scotland; Ireland and elsewhere, viz., in Lodges that were not influenced by the decisions of the Lodge of Reconciliation in 1816. That interesting book entitled *Jachin and Boaz* (1764) states that the Moderns omitted a Prayer in the Apprentice's Lecture, and also "that the *Modern Masons leave out at least one half of the Lectures*"; this is perhaps slight evidence of how the Moderns curtailed their ceremonies, also observable by their omission to appoint Deacons or to instal their Masters. Unfortunately I have no further information that might help to elucidate Bro. Meekren's very intelligent but searching queries, except that I can state with certainty that Laurence Dermott, in two or three of his scathing criticisms against the Moderns, had specially in view the Dundee Lodge No. 9 at Wapping, the evidence in this respect being conclusive.

It is suggested that perambulation of the Lodge could have taken place even where no Deacons were present. This question has been raised by Bros. Tuckett, Meekren, and Rippon. My reply is that clearly there is evidence that in olden days the J.W. did to some extent assist the Candidate in the ceremonial work, but it is obvious that this feature of our Ritual could not possibly be as elaborate as when two Deacons were officiating,—it also must have been rather against Masonic tradition for the J.W. thus to be absent from his chair for a lengthy period; most likely a Steward would assist in the Ceremonies prior to the appointment of Deacons.

re "The Triangular form of the Lodge."

This matter is discussed by Bros. Meekren, Songhurst, Shadwell and Bullamore. My reply is as follows, viz.:—I never said (nor even suggested) that the Brethren in old time Lodges were ever seated in a triangular form,

although (evidently in the very early days of the Craft) a Lodge can be seen depicted in the actual form of a Triangle in the Carmick MS. (1727), which is referred to by Bro. Dring (P.M. 2076) in his well known and valued article on "The Tracing or Lodge Board" (see *A.Q.C.* xxix., 249 and 252). It would have been more correct, perhaps, if my heading had been "The form of the Triangle within the Lodge," for I was merely referring to what was (I believe) in the eighteenth century the fairly common practice of seating the R.W. Master in the East, and *both the Wardens in the West;* thereby forming a perfect Isosceles. *triangle* clearly and patently visible to all the assembled Brethren. I quite agree with Bro. Songhurst, however, that this custom was not universal, for both *Jachin and Boaz* (1764) and the *Three Distinct Knocks* (*circa* 1760) refer to the J.W. being in the South. The extract inserted in my paper taken from Prichard's *Masonry Disected*, however, distinctly states that in 1730 both the Wardens were in the West.

A similar custom as regards the position of the Wardens existed in the "Loge Anglaise No. 204," of Bordeaux, France, "founded at Bordeaux in 1732, mostly by *English merchant captains* who had put into that port in the course of their trade" (and who doubtless were very familiar with the port of Wapping, London); see an Article by Bro. Edmund Heisch, P.G.D., in the *Authors' Lodge Transactions*, Vol. 2. Bro. Dring further tells us, in an article from his pen entitled "Prince Charles Edward and Freemasonry" (which recently appeared in *The Treasury of Masonic Thought*, published in Dundee, Scotland) that another old French Lodge, known as "La Fidelité &c.," consecrated at Chartres (France) in 1776, likewise placed both its Wardens in the West; whilst certain other old Lodges in Scotland and elsewhere also pursued this practice, and it is to this ancient custom that I was alluding. Bro. Songhurst supplements the evidence by the interesting and valued extract taken by him from the actual Minutes of the Modern G.L. proving that up to 1787—perhaps longer—at its various Quarterly Communications the Mother Grand Lodge of the world placed both its Grand Wardens in the West. (*Note.*—It is believed that this latter information is quite new to the Craft.)

My paper suggests that it was the Lodge of Promulgation (1809) that definitely decided that (for the future) Lodges—who had not already done so—should place their J.W. in the South. It also seems certain that, acting under the advice of their R.W. Master (Bro. John Walton, who was also a Member of the Lodge of Promulgation), the members of the Dundee Lodge No. 9 at Wapping, in 1810 made this change in their ceremonial and also (for the first time in their long history) appointed two Deacons. These (and perhaps other) changes did not appear to have been popular at first, for as a result one old P.M. (after much abstention from the Lodge meetings) resigned his membership in 1816 stating "that he had not been comfortable of late *on account of the alteration in the Lodge owing to the New System since the Union*"; ten other Members also soon resigned rather than agree to the new Regulations.

I should like to say that I feel very much indebted to Bro. Songhurst for his various useful but rather searching criticisms. In reply to his first query as to the payment made to Benjamin Cole on 13th Feb. 1752 for "500 Prints and altering Plate," the Lodge remained at the "Dundee Arms" Tavern, Wapping, from 1747 to 1763, right up to the time that the members met in their own Freehold premises in 1764. It is quite possible that for a few years the alteration of the place of meeting was written in ink on the "Letters" (*i.e.*, Summonses) by the Secretary, for the locality itself was not changed; they merely moved in 1747 from the "Crown" at New Crane, Wapping, and the Copper Plate was probably not altered until 1751, for Secretaries in those days were often careless and remiss in their duties.

I quite agree with Bro. Songhurst that the Wafers purchased in 1756 being "the size of a Crown" were most likely used for the sealing of Certificates, which were frequently issued by No. 9, as many of our Brethren were 'Members useing the Sea,' and on departing for a Voyage a Certificate of his membership of the Lodge would be most essential.

Personally speaking, I have always been willing—as, indeed, every fair-minded 'Modern' ought to be—that the highest praise should be rendered to the 'Antients' for their loyal and devoted adhesion to the old Ritual, and am in entire agreement with Bro. Songhurst on this point, viz., that to their consistent working of the old customs the Craft throughout the world is much indebted; but having said this I still consider that the criticisms of their Champion (Bro. Laurence Dermott) as printed in *Ahiman Rezon*, were far too severe and couched in language not only hostile to his opponents, but decidedly contrary to the fraternal goodwill that should at all times characterise the members of a Craft, whose dominant watchword is

"Brotherly Love, Relief and Truth."

Now, I hold no special brief for the Rev. Dr. Oliver, but I like to be kind and just to the memory of one who was not only a good man but a very earnest and zealous Mason and much esteemed by his contemporaries. Dr. George Oliver was born in 1782; was Initiated in 1801, and died on 3rd March, 1867, aged 85 years. He began writing Masonic books in 1820, and early in 1867, when discussing the "Origin of the Royal Arch," he stated:—"It will *not* be believed that I have deliberately attempted to promulgate a fallacy at my time of life, when I am shortly to be Initiated into the Greater Mysteries, or in other words *Death*";—a few weeks later he passed to the Grand Lodge above.

Dr. Oliver also tells us that his Father (who was likewise a Clergyman and was 'Made a Mason' in 1784) "was very methodical in all his transactions and being a Masonic enthusiast *he noted down in a Diary, expressly devoted to that purpose*, under a vivid recollection of the facts, whether they were witnessed by himself or communicated to him by others," items concerning "*the working of the Craft.*"

Dr. Oliver further informs us that his father's MS. came into his hands, a short time before his father's death, and for this reason, he assures us that his *Revelations of a Square* "*must not be accounted fabulous and without authority, because its contents are communicated through an imaginary medium, for the Author*" (viz., Dr. Oliver) "*is in possession of authentic vouchers for every transaction.*"

These statements, coming from a Clergyman of the Church of England of unblemished character, scarcely harmonise with the suggestion that the inaccuracy of certain of his statements arose through a faulty memory.

Doubtless many of Bro. Dr. Oliver's theories and statements will not bear the fierce light of modern criticism (and it is clear that he made many mistakes), but in his day he had not the great advantage that we ourselves enjoy of attending Lodges for Masonic Research, and whilst endorsing all the precautions suggested by Bro. Songhurst, and advising students to check Dr. Oliver's statements very carefully, yet I still believe that much interesting information concerning Freemasonry in the eighteenth century can be learned from the pen and brain of so worthy an exponent of the ancient life of our beloved Craft.

My thanks are also due to Bro. Gilbert S. Shadwell (writing from New York) for his statement that he also agrees that "much of the old forms are still retained in the work in the United States." This sentiment to a great degree explains the spirit in which this present paper has been written, viz., that if we wish to live again in the atmosphere of the working of the old Lodges in London it is necessary to look not to the present Ritual (as laid down for our guidance by the Lodge of Reconciliation in 1816) but rather seek to learn from ancient customs still observed by certain old Lodges in the United States, Scotland, Ireland, Bristol and elsewhere.

I now desire sincerely to thank all the various Brethren who have written, not only for their interesting comments and queries, but also for the leniency of their criticisms, and, in conclusion, to express my gratitude to the members of the Lodge and Corr. Circle alike for their kindly reception of a paper that has evidently raised questions of general interest to the Craft.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

THOS. TURNER, No. 192.—I suggest that the Thos. Turner whose name appears on the silver gilt jewel exhibited by the Secretary in November, 1923 (*A.Q.C.* xxxvi., 269) is the Brother T. Turner who in 1763 signed, as Master of Lodge No. 10, Quebec, a Certificate in favour of John Webb. This Certificate states that the Lodge was "held by the Officers in His Majesty's 47th Regiment of Foot," and John Webb is described as Ensign in that Regiment. Turner was at that time Adjutant. Lodge No. 192 had been attached to the 47th (or Lascelles) Regiment in 1749, and in the Register of the Grand Lodge of Ireland, Turner appears as having been admitted on 27 December 1761, and made Master on 27 December 1762; but other documentary evidence is in existence shewing that he presided as Master of another Lodge in Quebec on 12 April 1761. Further particulars about No. 192 and its Members will be found in a paper printed in the *Transactions* of the Lodge of Research No. CC., Dublin; and a reference to Bro. J. Ross Robertson's *History of Freemasonry in Canada* will shew that in 1763-4 Thomas Turner of No. 192 held the Office of Provincial Grand Master of Quebec.

J. HOLLIDAY.

The Nomenclature of Lodges.—I have been reading the paper on this subject, and see that, in the discussion which followed, our two Woolston Lodges "Clausentum" and "Vespasian" were mentioned.

It might interest your Members to know that the former was named after the title of the old Roman Station which existed opposite Southampton, about a stone's throw from where our Temple now stands.

Clausentum was founded by the Roman General Vespasian, who afterwards became Emperor of Rome; so when our Lodge became too big in numbers I suggested the new daughter Lodge should be called "Vespasian." This was adopted. The Founders' Jewels each had a genuine Vespasian silver denarius in the centre, surrounded by the Lodge name and motto "Servabo Fidem." These coins I managed to get in London about the time of the consecration of the new Lodge.

The titles therefore have a local interest, which we wanted to preserve.

ALLAN COOPER.

John Senex and the Royal Society.—By the kindness of the Council of the Royal Society I have been permitted to inspect and take extracts from the XIVth Volume of the Journal Book of that Society, which contains the Minutes of the Meetings at which John Senex was proposed and elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

At the Meeting held on the 20th June, 1728, we read:—

> "Mr. Senex was proposed by Dr. Halley & recommended for a Fellow by Dr. Desaguiliers & by the President & was referred." (p. 231.)
>
> "Mr. Senex presented his draughts of the constellations laid down from Mr. Flamsted's Catalogue containing the Northern & Southern Hemispheres in two Sheetes with the constellations in the Zodiac on a larger scale.
>
> He also shew'd his Maps of his Majesties Dominions of Great Britain and in Germany.
>
> He also shew'd the Society his two new Large Globes of 28 inches Diameter. For which he was Thankt." (p. 234.)

At the Meeting held on the 27th June, 1728, John Senex was duly elected, and we find recorded in the Journal Book that he and others were

> "severally put to the Ballot and Elected Fellows." (p. 235.)

At the Meeting held on the 4th July, 1728, John Senex attended, and we find recorded:

> "Mr. Senex also gave his Bond & signed his Obligation & was admitted a Fellow." (p. 237.)

I trust that this information may be of some slight interest to the Brethren, especially as the Past Junior Grand Warden was recommended by the Deputy Grand Master for the year in which he held that Office, viz., 1723-4.

GILBERT W. DAYNES.

OBITUARY.

IT is with regret that we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Sir **Thomas Kennedy Dalziel,** M.B., of Glasgow, in February, 1924. Our Brother was Past Master of The Prince's Lodge No. 607 (S.C.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in January, 1921.

John Davies, of Shipley, Yorkshire, suddenly, in his 53rd year, on 29th December, 1923. Bro. Davies was a Past Master of Hope Lodge No. 302, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1920.

Eyvino de Lange, of Stavanger, Norway, in the Autumn of 1922. He was Deputy Master of Lodge No. 5, and became a member of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1920.

Charles Lund Fry Edwards, of Axbridge, Somerset, on 29th February, 1924. Bro. Edwards held the rank of Past Grand Deacon in Grand Lodge, and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner in Grand Chapter. He was one of the early members of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in October, 1888.

Thomas Talbot Graham, of Portishead, near Bristol, on 7th December, 1923. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and was a member of Charity Chapter No. 187. He joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1916.

Thomas Lowe Gray, M.I.Mech.E., M.S.A., of Torquay, early in 1924. He was a member of the Star of the South Lodge No. 1025, and the Masefield Chapter No. 617. Bro. Gray was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in October, 1899.

Dr. **William Green,** of Portsmouth, on 26th January, 1924. Bro. Green was Past Master of Prince Edward Lodge No. 1903, and a member of Friendship Chapter No. 257. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1910.

James Cooper Harding, M.I.Mech.E., of Belfast, on 20th February, 1924. He was Past Master of Lodge No. 51, and Past King of Chapter No. 51. Bro. Harding was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in November, 1898.

W. C. A. Holzapfel, of Caterham Valley, Surrey, on 5th November, 1923. Our Brother was a member of Industry Lodge No. 48, and of the Chapter attached thereto. He joined our Correspondence Circle in June, 1907.

Albert Jacob Lange, of Norway, early in 1924. He was a member of Lodge Kilsyth St. John No. 39 (S.C.), and was elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle in October, 1899.

Andrew Summerville MacBride, J.P., of Rothesay, on 13th December, 1923. Bro. MacBride had held the office of Dep.Pr.G.M. for Dumbarton, and had been a member of the Correspondence Circle since May, 1893.

R. Murdock, of Wanganui, New Zealand, on 11th November, 1923. Our Brother held the rank of P.Dis.G.D.C. He was elected to the membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1914.

William Frederick Preedy, of Ealing, London, W., early in 1924. He was a member of Sanctuary Lodge No. 3051, and a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in January, 1911.

Cornwallis Fountayne Henry Smith, of Crouch Hill, London, N., in July, 1921. Our Brother was P.M. of the Gallery Lodge No. 1928, and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1920.

Thomas Spencer, of Manchester, on 2nd January, 1924. Bro. Spencer was a Past Master of the Mellor Lodge No. 1774, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since January, 1900.

George William Taylor, A.I.N.A., of London, E.C., on 27th December, 1923. Our Brother was a member of Amity Lodge No. 171, and of St. George's Chapter No. 140. He was a Life member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in October, 1889.

William Teeton, of Hanley, Staffs., on 31st December 1923. Bro. Teeton held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies in Grand Lodge, and Past Grand Standard Bearer in Grand Chapter. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1915.

Peter Tostevin, of Gosport, in December, 1923. He was a member of the Gosport Lodge and Chapter No. 903, and was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1913.

Arthur Wood Wood, of Bradford, Yorks., on 8th February, 1924. Our Brother held the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and P.Pr.G.So. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1921.

Dr. **Olin S. Wright,** of Plant City, Fla., U.S.A., in his 72nd year, on 17th December, 1923. Bro. Wright held the rank of P.Dis.Dep.G.M., and Past Grand High Priest. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since June, 1900.

FRIDAY, 2nd MAY, 1924.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M., as W.M.; J. Heron Lepper, S.W.; John Stokes, J.G.D., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary, Gordon Hills, P.Pr.G.W., Berks., P.M., D.C.; Geo. Norman, P.A.G.D.C., J.D.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M.; and J. H. McNaughton, Tyler.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. W. J. Williams, Jno. Harrison, A. Heiron, J. Chas. McCullagh, L. M. Thudichum, Chas. S. Burdon, Wm. C. Terry, J. H. Bankes, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., J. E. Whitty, J. Walter Hobbs, F. P. Reynolds, Stanley Y. Holland, J. F. Vesey FitzGerald, F. Bare, F. C. Stoate, F. J. Asbury, W. Dewes, A. C. Rose, G. W. Daynes, W. Young, A. W. Stevenson, W. Geoghegan, T. L. Found, G. W. South, F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., John J. Hands, R. F. Johnson, E. L. Carter, H. Johnson, J. J. Galwey, Fredk. Houghton, G. H. Fennell, B. Ivanoff, H. P. Walker, Wm. Lewis, G. Derrick, H. G. Gold, R. J. Meekren, W. J. S. Pearse, A. D. Bowl, Chas. S. Ayling, J. T. N. Darbyshire, H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., R. Wheatley, A. H. Marchant, W. Brinkworth, A. H. Harding, F. T. James, L. R. Ray, T. H. Coulson, P. Green, and H. J. Weise.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. W. M. Bower, La Tolerance Lodge No. 538; J. Bennett, St. Mary Balham Lodge No. 3661; J. Weise and Thos. H. Weise, United Northern Counties Lodge No. 2128; B. W. Peters, P.M., and J. O. Johnson, W. T. Dawson, and H. J. Sullivan, City of London Red Cross Lodge No. 3781.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., W.M.; E. Conder, L.R., P.M.; J. E. S. Tuckett, A.G.S.B., P.M.; C. Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; W. W. Covey-Crump, S.D.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; W. Wynn Westcott, P.G.D., P.M.; Edward Armitage, P.G.D., Treas.; Rodk. H. Baxter, P.Pr.G.W., E.Lancs., I.P.M.; and F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.

One Lodge, one Lodge of Instruction, and Forty-Five Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

A Vote of Congratulation was accorded to the following members of the Lodge and Correspondence Circle, who received Honours at the recent Festival of Grand Lodge:—Bros. Lieut.-Col. W. F. Ellis and W. F. Trumper, Senior Grand Deacons; D. Landale Johnston, Past Grand Senior Deacon; Dr. John Stokes, Junior Grand Deacon; Hugh Cumberland, W. H. Jervis Wegg and C. W. Hodgson, Past Junior Grand Deacons; Rev. J. D. Mullins, Assistant Grand Chaplain; T. F. Anderson, Deputy Grand Director of Ceremonies; G. E. Osborne, D. N. Youle, Herbert B. Spencer, Wm. Platt, and Alfred Gates, Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; F. A. Powell, E. F. Rose, W. K. Thomas and Cuthbert Wilkinson, Past Assistant Grand Directors of Ceremonies; J. E. S. Tuckett, Assistant Grand Sword Bearer; G. E. King, Grand Standard Bearer; W. C. Wise, A. Ernest Jones, and J. Toon, Past Grand Standard Bearers; F. J. Rover and G. A. Harris, Assistant Grand Standard Bearers; E. Blinkhorn, Past Assistant Grand Standard Bearer; and J. H. Catten, Grand Pursuivant.

The Secretary drew attention to the following

EXHIBIT:—

By Bro. W. Wonnacott.

Portrait of Frederick, Prince of Wales. Oil Painting by Charles Philips (1708-1747). Three-quarter length, seated, in Robes of the Order of the Garter. Signed by the Artist. It is believed that this Portrait has never been engraved.

Bro. Gilbert W. Daynes read the following paper, and a cordial vote of thanks was passed to him on the proposition of Bro. W. Wonnacott, seconded by Bro. J. Heron Lepper; comments being offered by or on behalf of Bros. A. Heiron, J. Stokes, J. Walter Hobbs, W. J. Williams, J. E. S. Tuckett, G. W. G. Barnard, G. W. Bullamore and R. H. Baxter:—

THE DUKE OF LORRAINE AND ENGLISH FREEMASONRY IN 1731.

BY BRO. GILBERT W. DAYNES.

I HAVE been recently transcribing the entries contained in an early Minute Book of the Lodge which was constituted at the Maid's Head, Magdalen Street, Norwich, in 1724. This Minute Book, which fortunately came into the possession of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Norfolk in 1894, records the meetings of the Lodge from the 27th December, 1743, to the 2nd December, 1789. It is certainly not the earliest Minute Book of the Lodge, for upon the first page of this Book has been written a short account of its Constitution by Martin Folkes in 1724, and of certain outstanding events in the early history of the Lodge. This summary is followed, on pages 2 and 3, by a short set of nine By-laws recommended by Dr. J. T. Desaguliers for "ye better preserving the Peace and Harmony of this Lodge," and, on pages 5 and 6, there is a List of Brethren belonging to the Lodge in 1745, which has been continued to the year 1765.

The entry on page 1 of the Minute Book reads as follows:—

> "This Lodge was Constituted in ye year 1724 by Martin Folkes Esqr. deputy Grand Master to his Grace ye Duke of Richmond and afterwards had ye honour of a visitt from ye Right Honble. ye Lord Colerane whilst he was Grand Master who declared his approbation and signifyd his desire of becoming a member thereof as may be seen more at large in ye first Sederunt Book.
>
> Several remarkable distinctions have been paid to this Lodge by ye many Honble. and Right Worshipfull Brethren who have visited it very frequently, many also have been Initiated into ye solemn Misterys and ancient Science of Masonry, but as an extraordinary Instance of the great Regard shown to this Lodge, the Right Honble. ye Lord Lovel ye present Earl of Leicester when he was Grand Master sum̄oned ye Master and Brethren to hold a Lodge at Houghton Hall. There were present the Grand Master, his Royall Highness ye Duke of Lorrain and many other noble Brethren, and when all was put into due form ye Grand Master presented his Grace ye Duke of Newcastle, ye Right Honble. ye Earl of Essex, Major General Churchill and his own Chaplain who were unanimously accepted of and made Masons by the Right Worshipfull Thomas Johnson the then Master of this Lodge."

This extract was published as far back as October, 1796, in vol. vii. of the *Freemason's Magazine*, and has since been quoted on more than one occasion.[1] It was also quoted by Bro. R. F. Gould when considering the statements, concerning the Lodge held at Houghton Hall, made by Dr. James Anderson in the Second Edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, published in 1738.[2]

[1] *Freemasons' Magazine*, 20th August, 1859; and *The Freemason*, 17th December, 1870.

[2] *History of Freemasonry*, by R. F. Gould; vol. ii., p. 388 (footnote).

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paratively neutral, port, it became, to a considerable degree, the pivot for the negotiations. Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, was appointed Ambassador to Holland in 1728, and left England to take up his appointment on the 23rd April, 1728. He was in London upon a visit in May and June, 1730, returning to the Hague the following August. Whether the Earl of Chesterfield was consulted by Sir Robert Walpole upon the matter, when in London, I have not been able to find out, but it appears to have been mainly through him and his advice that the negotiations with the Emperor proved successful, and resulted in the Second Treaty of Vienna being signed on the 16th March, 1731. By this Treaty "England undertook to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, by which the Emperor was endeavouring to secure for his daughter the inheritance of his hereditary dominions, and on this condition he consented to the admission of the Spanish troops." [1] The Treaty was duly ratified on the 5th May, 1731, and a European War was thus averted.

Shortly after the ratification of the Second Treaty of Vienna, Francis, Duke of Lorraine, appears to have made a journey to the Netherlands, portions of which then formed part of the hereditary dominions of the Emperor Charles, as Duke of Brabant. It was during this tour that the Duke of Lorraine visited the Hague, and, according to Dr. James Anderson, was there initiated into Freemasonry. His account of these proceedings, and of the subsequent visit of the Duke, later in the year, to Houghton Hall, Norfolk, is in the following words:—

> "His Royal Highness Francis Duke of Lorrain (now Grand Duke of Tuscany) at the Hague was made an Enter'd Prentice and Fellow Craft, by Virtue of a Deputation for a Lodge there, consisting of Rev. Dr. Desaguliers Master, John Stanhope, Esq.; Jn. Holtzendorf, Esq.; Grand Wardens, and the other Brethren, viz. Philip Stanhope Earl of Chesterfield Lord Ambassador, — Strickland Esq.; nephew to the Bishop of Namur, Mr. Benjamin Hadley and an Hollandish Brother.
>
> Our said Royal Brother Lorrain coming to England this Year, Grand Master Lovel formed an Occasional Lodge at Sir Robert Walpole's House of Houghton-Hall in Norfolk, and made Brother Lorrain and Brother Thomas Pelham Duke of Newcastle Master Masons. And ever since, both in the G. Lodge and in particular Lodges, the Fraternity joyfully remember His Royal Highness in the proper Manner." [2]

This account is sandwiched in between the records of the meetings of Grand Lodge, held on the 14th May and 24th June, 1731. The Quarterly Communication held on Friday, the 14th May, 1731, was at the Rose Tavern in St. Mary La Bonne, and was presided over by the Grand Master, Lord Lovell, supported by his Deputy and Grand Wardens. Five former Grand Masters were present, including the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Coleraine and Dr. Desaguliers. Martin Folkes, a former Deputy Grand Master, and member of the Maid's Head Lodge at Norwich, was also present, and 37 Lodges were represented. No deputation is recorded in the Minutes of this, or any other meeting, authorising Dr. Desaguliers to hold a Lodge at the Hague; but at that date deputations were no doubt sometimes of an informal character, perhaps merely verbal. It may well be that, at this meeting, the visit of Dr. Desaguliers to the Hague was mentioned to and approved by the Grand Master.

The next Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge was held on Thursday, the 24th June, 1731, at the Half Moon Tavern in Cheapside. It was again presided over by Lord Lovell, his Deputy and Wardens being also present. Besides the Masters and Wardens of 29 Lodges, the only name mentioned was

[1] *History of England in the 18th Century*, by W. E. H. Lecky; vol. i., p. 413.
[2] *Book of Constitutions*, 2nd edition, 1738; p. 129.

"Dr. James Anderson Author of the Book of Constitutions." There is an ambiguous paragraph in the Minutes of this meeting:—

> "That the Treasurer of the general Charity do pay to B^{r}. Henry Pritchard the sum of five pounds towards his further Releife, and desired that D^{r}. Desagulier would be pleased to see the same applyed in the best manner for that purpose."

Whether this meant that Dr. Desaguliers was actually present on that occasion or not, I should not like to say positively, but, if he was, then no doubt he had returned from Holland by then.

It was also at this meeting that we find recorded:—

> "Then the Grand Master and his General Officers signed a Deputation for our R^{t}. Worshipful Brother John Phillips Esqr. to be Grand Master of ffree and accepted Masons within the Empires of Russia and Germany, and Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, and his Health was drank wishing Prosperity to the Craft in those parts."

Had this anything to do with the Duke of Lorraine and Freemasonry? We do not know. It, however, affords an instance of a formal deputation having been entered in the Minutes of Grand Lodge.

From the fact that Dr. Anderson has placed the account of the Duke of Lorraine and Freemasonry between the two Quarterly Communications of Grand Lodge I have just referred to, it has been assumed that the meetings at the Hague and at Houghton Hall took place between the 14th May and the 24th June, 1731. That this was not so, in fact, so far as regards the English meeting, I shall presently show; it is not, however, an unreasonable assumption with regard to the meeting at the Hague. From our local newspaper, *Crossgrove's News*, otherwise known as *The Norwich Gazette*, we learn:—

> "London, May 4th [1731]. Wye's Letter to-day says:—The Duke of Lorrain being expected here next month, Orders are given for the necessary Preparations to be made for his Reception."

From this extract we may, not unreasonably, gather that it was understood that the Duke was about to make a journey from Vienna, which would include England. The political situation would render the journey desirable, as rumour had already connected together the names of the Duke of Lorraine and Marie Theresa, only child of Emperor Charles VI. The English portion of the journey did not immediately materialize, as, from the same paper—*The Norwich Gazette*—we are told:—

> "Hague June 24th [N.S.] We learn from Brussels that the Duke of Lorrain is still there, highly delighted with the Diversions of that Place; and that the Report of his designing a Tour into Great Britain appears without foundation."

This date would represent June 13th according to the old calendar, which was being used at that time in England.

From the Journal Book of the Royal Society I have ascertained that Dr. Desaguliers was present at the weekly meetings of that Society, held on April 29th, May 6th, and May 13th, 1731, on the last of which occasions it is recorded:—

> "Dr. Desaguliers made a present of his poem intitled the Newtonian System for which he had thanks."

Dr. Desaguliers is mentioned as being present on June 3rd, 1731, but, on the previous 27th May, a visitor is recorded, "Mr. Thomas Morton by Dr. Desaguliers." The Minutes do not disclose whether Dr. Desaguliers was present

with this visitor, or whether he merely vouched for him in writing. Thereafter, there is no record of his attendance at the Royal Society's meetings until after the Autumn Sessions had started, viz., October 28th, 1731. On the following 11th November the Minutes record as follows:—

> "A Letter from Dr. Desaguliers dated at Amsterdam . . . 1731 was read, concerning the variation of the Needle there at that time. For which he was ordered thanks."

It is most disappointing that the letter is not dated, so that we cannot tell whether the letter was written when he was over in Holland, and visited the Hague, or whether it was written in October or November of that year, upon a subsequent visit. From the above facts we shall, perhaps, be near the mark if we say that the ceremony at the Hague took place the latter part of May, or after the first week in June. Whether the Duke of Lorraine visited the Hague, or Brussels, first I have not at present been able to ascertain, not having had the opportunity of searching the London newspapers. It is more than likely that the foreign news, in one of those newspapers, would give us information that would settle, within very narrow limits, the dates between which the Duke was staying at the Hague.

The visit to England by the Duke of Lorraine, which, as we have seen, appeared to have been abandoned, or to have been mere idle rumour, was undertaken in the Autumn of 1731; and, by the beginning of October, it was well known that the Duke was coming. Preparations for his entertainment were pushed forward, and, from one or two letters written at the time, as well as from the local newspaper I have already quoted from—*The Norwich Gazette*—we may get quite a good idea of the various happenings during the visit. *The Norwich Gazette* for October 9th-16th, 1731, tells us:—

> "London, Oct. 9th. Wyes Letter has the 5 following Paragraphs, viz:—The Prince of Wales has a Suit of rich Cloaths from Paris, in which he will receive the Duke of Lorrain; who has the Interest of the Kings of France, Sweden, the Electors of Mentz, Saxony, Brandenburg, and some others of the Empire who have Votes in the Imperial College, for chusing him King of the Romans: His Highness is not yet come, as was talkt of but hourly expected; his Baggage and some Saddle-Horses being arrived, and the Blue Guards lie ready to receive him at Greenwich, and conduct him through the City to Hanover Square; where such preparations are making for his Reception and Accommodation, as well as at Count Kinski's the Emperor's Ambassador's Country Seat near Hampton-Court, as confirm people in their Notions that he is designed to marry the Emperor's eldest Daughter and even to succeed to the Empire; and consequently, that his Reception will be the more extraordinary; in order to which, the Royal Family have provided themselves with Cloaths exceedingly rich and splendid.
>
> . . . .
>
> The Duke of Lorrain is expected this Evening at Count Kinski's House in Hanover Square, His Excellency's House at Isleworth is also fitting up for his Royal Highness: The Prince of Wales is to accompany His Royal Highness to Newmarket, to see the Diversion of the Horse Races."

It is interesting to note that the surmise contained in the earlier paragraph quoted proved correct. On the 12th February, 1736, the Duke was married to Maria Theresa, the Emperor's Daughter, and, later, on the 13th September, 1745, his wife secured his Election to the Empire in succession to Charles VII. The concluding paragraph was, however, slightly previous, and it is not until the 13th October that we hear of the Duke being actually in England. *The Norwich Gazette* contains the following information:—

"London, Oct. 14. Yesterday in the Forenoon His Royal Highness the Duke of Lorrain passed through this City in Count Kinski's Coach from Greenwich where he lay on board the Yacht which brought him from Holland the Night before and went directly to that Minister's House in Hanover Square. On his Royal Highness'es Arrival at Greenwich, an Express was dispatched to Hampton Court to acquaint their Majesties therewith; and yesterday in the Afternoon the Earl of Scarborough came with his Majesty's Compliments to His Royal Highness as did the Lord Visc^t. Malpas from the Prince."

The Duke and his retinue crossed over to England from Rotterdam, in His Majesty's yachts, *Fubbs* and *Mary*, which had been sent specially over for the purpose.

In the *London Gazette*, No. 7029 to Tuesday 12th October 1731, we find the following paragraph giving an account of an adventure which befell the Duke of Lorraine on the eve of his departure to England. That newspaper states:—

"Hague. Oct. 19. N.S.
The Mary Yacht arrived at Rotterdam four days ago. The Duke of Lorrain having viewed whatever is curious at Amsterdam where Adml Sommerdyk and Mr. Hop accompanied him continually from place to place went in a yacht from thence to Utrecht whence he was expected at Rotterdam the 17th at night but did not arrive there till yesterday noon. The Yacht in which he came to Utrecht ran aground so that he was obliged to be 3 or 4 hours in the rain in an open boat before he could reach Rotterdam."

We are told the Court chat, concerning the arrival of the Duke of Lorraine and the arrangements for his entertainment, in two letters written from Charles Delafaye to the Earl of Waldegrave, who at that time was Ambassador to France, and resided at Paris. Delafaye was, at that date, Under-Secretary of State to the Duke of Newcastle, who, in 1724, was chosen by Sir Robert Walpole to be Secretary of State in the place of Lord Carteret. Both Charles Delafaye and Lord Waldegrave were Freemasons, and appear in the 1723 and 1725 Lists, in the Grand Lodge Minute Book, as members of the Lodge meeting at the Horn Tavern, at Westminster. The former must have been a prominent member of the Fraternity, as Bro. Vibert states, when dealing with the first edition of the *Book of Constitution*:—

"The Fellow Craft's Song is by Charles De la Faye, who can be identified as a member of the Lodge at the Horn, who visited the Philo Musicæ et Architecturæ Societas on December 23rd, 1725. Compared with the two efforts that precede it, this is almost poetry." [1]

Charles De la Faye, writing from Hampton Court, on 15th October, 1731, says:—

"The Duke of Lorrain is come at last, under the travelling name of Count Blamont. Count Kinsky brought him hither. They came to court in chairs (having alighted at Baron Hattorf's lodgings upon the Green): the guards took no notice of them, I mean by the way of being drawn up or saluting. They alighted at the first gate and walked through the court, up stairs, through the guard chamber and the next room, into the cartoon gallery, at the door of which the house keeper was placed to keep every body else from going in. My lord Harvey (vice-chamberlain to the king) waited in the cartoon gallery, and carry'd him that way into his majesty's private apartment. Then I saw my lord chamberlain conducting his highness through the admiral gallery to the queen's apartment, where he saw (in private)

[1] *The Constitutions of the Freemasons 1723*, p. xliv.

her majesty and the royal family, except the prince of Wales, to whom he afterwards paid a visit, being carry'd also the private way. I imagined count Blamont would from thence have slunk away, but he was more gallant; went to the queen's circle, and saw the dining in publick, standing behind their majesties, or rather in some measure between their chairs. After about a quarter of an hour's stay there, he went and dined at count Kinsky's at Isleworth, and so back to London to Count Kinsky's house there, whither all the ministers went early this morning to pay their court to his highness, before they came to the king's levy here. The duke of Lorrain was not here this day; but to-morrow he is to meet their majesties and the royal family at the hunting in Windsor forrest, and they are to dine together, as I hear, at Cranborn lodge. The duke of Newcastle will give his highness a great entertainment next week at Claremont. They talk of count Blamonts' going to Newmarket at the end of next week, and that we shall then remove to town; but that is not certain."[1]

On the 18th October, Charles De la Faye again writes from Hampton Court to Lord Waldegrave, and says:—

"The hunting was last Saturday, as I wrote to your excellency was intended, but the dinner was here. There sate at table the King, the prince of Wales on his majesty's right hand, and count Blamont on his left, and the ministers and great officers, and such others as his majesty was pleased to appoint, who sate pêle mêle without any distinction. They were about fourteen in all. It was in the beauty room next the privy garden. A play is now acting here, to which count Blamont is come from Count Kinsky's. To-morrow the duke of Devonshire entertains his highness at supper in Town. Wednesday is to be another hunting, and another dinner here. Thursday count Blamont goes to see a ship launched, and will be entertained by the admiralty. Fryday he dines with my lord duke of Newcastle at Claremont, and is to be at a ball here at Court. Saturday another hunting. This day oer'night his highness goes to Newmarket, and comes back to Town for the birth day; after which the duke of Grafton will entertain him, as is said, some days at Euston, and sir Robert Walpole at Houghton."[2]

In *The Norwich Gazette* we have an account of the hunting, which took place on Saturday, October 16th, and also of the dinner given by His Majesty; but nothing is said about the other events that preceded the Duke's departure for Newmarket, on Monday, October 25th. From this newspaper we learn:—

"London Oct. 19. Last Saturday the King, Queen, Prince, Duke, the three Eldest Princesses, together with the Duke of Lorrain and a great number of Persons of Quality and Distinction went to Swinley-Rails in Windsor Forrest; where a Stag was unharboured and ran a chase of about 25 miles. The Duke of Lorrain came in at the Death having twice changed his Horses. The Earl of Albemarle was ordered to attend His Highness in the Field; . . . .
His Most Serene Highness dined with the King in the Beauty Gallery, which is finely painted by Sir James Thornhill; where likewise sat at table His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on His Majesty's right hand, the Duke (as being Incog under the character of Count Blamont) on the left; as also the Dukes of Grafton, Devonshire, Newcastel and Richmond, Sir Robert Walpole, the Earl of Dunmore, the Lords Harrington, Delaware and Guildford, Count

[1] *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, by W. Coxe; vol. iii., p. 122.
[2] *idem*, vol. iii., p. 123.

> Kinski and Two General Officers in the service of the Duke of Lorrain. Mr. Darcey and Mr. Boscawen, Pages of Honour to the King waited behind his Majesty's Chair, as did Mr. Scott, Page of Honour to the Prince of Wales behind his Royal Highness; and a gentleman belonging to the Duke of Grafton waited on the Duke of Lorrain; the King's Footmen waited on the rest of the Company. In the evening His Highness went with Count Kinksi to his House at Isleworth, highly satisfied with the Honours he had received. This Young Prince is much admired, for the Agreeableness of his person and Polite Address.
>
> His Most Serene Highness is to go for 10 days to Euston the seat of the Duke of Grafton in Suffolk, to partake of the Diversion of Foxhunting. Next Sunday his Highness will set out with several persons of Distinction for Newmarket to be present at the Horse Races there which begin on Monday. The R^t. Hon. Sir Robert Walpole has given the Duke of Lorrain an Invitation to his fine Seat at Houghton in Norfolk, whither his Royal Highness will set out sometime next week; in company with Sir Robert, and several other persons of note."

William Anne Van Keppel, second Earl of Albemarle, succeeded to the title on the death of his Father, Arnold Joost Van Keppel, first Earl of Albermarle, on 30th May, 1718. When he was made a Mason we do not know, but we hear of him as being present at that famous meeting at Ditton on the 29th December, 1734, when he with others "made Chapters"; and we also read of him being present at Grand Lodge on the 15th April, 1736.[1]

We know, however, that, early in 1723, the Earl of Albemarle married Lady Anne Lennox, sister of Charles, second Duke of Richmond, Grand Master in 1724. As he was on quite friendly terms with his Brother-in-law it is more than probable that the Earl of Albemarle had been made a Freemason prior to the visit of the Duke of Lorraine to Houghton Hall, in November, 1731. Having been appointed, on the 22nd November, 1731, to the command of the 29th Regiment of Foot, then stationed at Gibraltar, the Earl must have left England very soon after he had witnessed the departure of the Duke of Lorraine, from Greenwich, on the 8th December, 1731. With regard to the Duke of Grafton we know that he was, at this period, the Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household. According to the *Norwich Gazette* the Duke was made a Freemason, on the 6th February, 1730. The London Correspondent of that Paper writes:—

> "London. February 7: There was last Night at the Horn-Tavern in Westminster a Lodge of the Free and Accepted Masons, the Duke of Richmond presiding as Master of the Lodge, when the Duke of Grafton was admitted and sworn a Member of that Antient and Honourable Society."

It is hardly necessary for me to enlarge upon the Duke of Richmond's connection with the Craft, and I shall have more to say as to the Duke of Newcastle in a later part of this Paper. Of the remaining Peers present at His Majesty's Dinner, I have not been able to trace them as Craftsmen, although Lord Harrington's Brother, Charles Stanhope, is probably the Hon. Charles Stanhope shown in the 1730 List, in Grand Lodge Minute Book, as a member of the Lodge meeting at the Bear and Harrow, Butcher's Row. Lord Harrington was the Secretary of State, under Sir Robert Walpole, responsible for the Second Treaty of Vienna before referred to.

After the busy week indicated in the letters to the Earl of Waldegrave, and the newspaper paragraphs I have quoted, the Duke of Lorraine left Town for Newmarket on Monday, October 25th. The distance from London is about

[1] *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxx., pp. 190-1, and *Q.C.A.*, vol. x., p. 272.

sixty miles, and it was at Newmarket that Sir Robert Walpole broke his journeys to Houghton Hall. *The Norwich Gazette* chronicles the departure as follows:—

> "London October 26. Yesterday morning about 3 a clock His Most Serene Highness the Duke of Lorrain accompanied by His Excellency Count Kinski and several other Persons of Distinction set out with a great Retinue for Newmarket, the same day several of His Majesty's grooms set out for Newmarket with several of the King's Horses being ordered to attend the Duke of Lorrain. We hear that His Serene Highness the Duke of Lorrain will accompany His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on Friday next to see the Comedy of the *London Cuckolds* and the Entertainment of the *Rape of Proserpine* at the Theatre Royal in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.
>
> . . . .
>
> The Duke of Lorrain is entertained at our Court with all the Marks of Esteem and Respect that can possibly be shewn him who may be one day Emperor of Germany. His Serene Highness and Count Kinski the Imperial Minister have accepted the Invitation to dine in the City on the Lord Mayor's Day."

I have not been able to obtain any news of the Duke whilst at Newmarket, and the next time he is referred to in *The Norwich Gazette* is in the account of the Lord Mayor's Show in London, which he watched. We may assume, therefore, that, at the latest, he must have left Newmarket on Thursday, October 28th. From the extract from *The Norwich Gazette*, which I shall next give, we learn that the Duke did not dine in the City as surmised; whether he and the Prince of Wales visited the Theatre Royal that day we do not know. The paper tells us:—

> "London Oct. 30, The Duke of Lorrain did not dine with the Lord Mayor yesterday but was at the Seven Stars on Ludgate Hill; where he saw the Procession of the Shew, and returned through the City; as did also His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and many other Persons of Distinction. And this being the Anniversary of His Majesty's Birth Day, the same was observed with the usual Demonstrations of Joy; and the Duke of Newcastel in particular entertained at Dinner the Duke of Lorrain, and all the Foreign Ministers, with many of the Nobility, about 50 in Number."

In the evening, the Duke attended the Royal Ball, but apparently incognito as Count Blamont, for we read in the next issue of *The Norwich Gazette*:—

> "London Novr. 2. On Saturday last . . . At night the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal opened the Ball, Her Royal Highness afterwards danced with the Duke of Richmond. The Duke of Lorrain sat incognito amongst the Foreign Ministers."

The clothes of the Duke of Lorraine, both at the Ball as well as earlier in the day, attracted considerable attention, and in the same issue of the paper, under the same date and lower down the sheet, we are told:—

> "On the Kings Birth-Day, the Duke of Lorrain appeared at Court in two Velvet Suits of Cloaths, made after the English Fashion. The one a Dove-coloured Suit, richly embroidered with Gold; the other a Blue, embroidered with Silver."

There were also paragraphs in that issue showing that great preparations were being made by Sir Robert Walpole, so that the entertainment of the Duke of Lorraine at Houghton Hall, during his visit to that fine mansion, might be worthy of the best traditions of the Premier's hospitality. They state:—

"Mr. Lambert the Confectioner who hath prepared most of the Deserts for the Nobility who have hitherto entertained the Duke of Lorrain is going (with several of his Servants) down to the Seat of Sir Robert Walpole in Norfolk to prepare a most magnificent one there for the entertainment of that prince; And 8 Carriages are constantly passing Night and Day between this City and Houghton, the Seat of Sir Robert Walpole aforesaid, with Necessaries for the said Entertainment."

and also:—

"Twenty cooks have been at work for some time past in getting every thing ready for the grand Entertainment of the Duke of Lorrain at Sir Robert Walpole's fine Seat in Norfolk."

In passing, we may notice that the Mr. Lambert mentioned in the newspaper is without doubt the Mr. Lambert who, with John Potter, acted as Deputies to the Grand Steward, John James Heidegger, and prepared the Grand Lodge Feast on the 27th December, 1725. Mr. Lambert also acted as Grand Steward at the Grand Lodge Feasts held on the 27th February, 1726/7, and the 27th December, 1727. Bro. W. J. Songhurst has succeeded in locating this confectioner—one might almost say artist—"over against St. Alban's Street, in Pall Mall."[1] Perhaps he may also be identified with Edward Lambert, who was shown in 1723 as a member of the Lodges meeting at the Busiebody at Charing Cross, and The Crown at Acton; in 1725 as a member of the Former Lodge, then meeting at the Kings Head, in Pall Mall; and, in 1731, as a member of the Lodge meeting at the Rose Tavern, without Temple Bar.

In a local History this visit of the Duke of Lorraine to Houghton Hall is referred to, and it may perhaps be interesting if I quote the paragraph. It states:—

"The Duke of Lorrain, afterwards Emperor of Germany and husband of Maria Theresa, was once entertained by Sir Robert Walpole at Houghton, with more than British magnificence. Relays of Horses were in the meantime provided on the Road to bring rarities from the remotest parts of the Kingdom with all possible speed; and this extraordinary expedient, it seems, was continued all the while that august guest staid there."[2]

I have been unable to ascertain when precisely the Duke of Lorraine left London on his visit to the Duke of Grafton. Euston Hall in Suffolk is about seventy-five miles from London, and the journey could not have been commenced later than Monday, November 1st, because we learn from *The Norwich Gazette* that the visit terminated on the following Wednesday. According to the newspaper extract, previously quoted, fox hunting was to be the attraction. The Duke, from all accounts, was an excellent horseman, so let us hope that there were no early frosts, and that the scent was good. The departure from Euston for Houghton is thus described:—

"London, Nov. 6. Wyes Letter. We learn that the Duke of Lorrain, accompanied by the Dukes of Newcastel, Richmond, Earls of Scarborough, Albemarle, and Divers Persons of Distinction, was splendidly entertained by the Duke of Grafton at his Seat at Euston in Suffolk till Wednesday last, when His Highness and the Nobility aforesaid set out for Sir Robert Walpole's Seat at Houghton Hall."

From Euston to Houghton is about thirty-six miles. Houghton Hall is a magnificent mansion, which Sir Robert Walpole commenced to erect in 1722, the foundation being laid by himself on the 24th May. The building was designed

[1] *Q.C.A.*, vol. x., p. 81.
[2] *The Norfolk Tour*, published 1829, p. 539.

by Thomas Ripley, and took thirteen years before it was finally completed, although Sir Robert Walpole was in occupation some considerable time before the Duke of Lorraine's visit. The size of the house may be gauged from the length of the front, 450 feet. As to the room wherein the Emergency Lodge was held, we can only conjecture. Personally, I favour either the Saloon—a magnificent room 40 feet long 30 feet wide and 40 feet high—if it could be suitably tyled, or the Library, a room of more modest proportions, viz., 21½ feet square. The sumptuousness of the entertainment of the Duke of Lorraine and his fellow guests soon filtered through to Norwich, and *The Norwich Gazette* notes the fact. It says:—

> "Norwich. November, 13. We hear that the Entertainments made at the R^t. Hon. Sir Robert Walpole's fine Seat at Houghton, for His Most Serene Highness the Duke of Lorrain, are most magnificently Grand, and by some said to exceed any yet made by others on that occasion."

The next paragraph from *The Norwich Gazette*, which I shall quote, announces the arrival of the Duke in London about noon on Saturday, the 13th November. From this we can fix the probable departure from Houghton as Friday, the 12th. *The Norwich Gazette* tells us:—

> "London. November, 13. Wyes Letter. This Day at Noon His Most Serene Highness the Duke of Lorrain arrived in Town, from the R^t. Hon. Sir Robert Walpole's Seat in Norfolk; but Sir Robert will not come from his Seat there before the next week: We hear the said Prince gave 300 l. to be distributed amongst the Duke of Graftons Servants at Euston Hall in Suffolk, and the like sum to those of Sir Robert Walpole."

Although we now can state positively that the Occasional Lodge at Houghton was held one day between the 4th and the 11th of November, 1731, I have found no means, at present, of ascertaining the exact day. In a Paper entitled *Houghton-in-the-Brake*, by the late Mrs. Herbert Jones, which appeared in vol. 8 of the *Transactions of the Norfolk Archæological Society*, we are told, relative to Sir Robert Walpole and his house parties:—

> "These guests were occasionally royal personages; a letter in the possession of a gentleman in Norfolk gives an account of a visit of the Grand Duke of Tuscany to Houghton, when the cavalcade of visitors and gentry going out hunting could 'only be compared to an army on its march.'"

A footnote states that the Extract was furnished by the Revd. J. H. Broome, to whom the letter had been communicated. This gentleman was Rector of Houghton many years ago, and is dead. Mrs. Jones' papers are dispersed, and I have been unable to get any help through her publishers. I have advertised in the local Press, and made many enquiries to trace the whereabouts of this letter, but, at present, without success. It is most tantalizing, because one feels that in that letter we are certain to learn facts relating to the visit, which one would not expect to find in the Newspapers of that time.

It is also disappointing to have to confess that I have been unable to trace the Earl of Scarborough as a Freemason. Richard Lumley, second Earl of Scarborough, succeeded to the title on the death of his Father, on the 22nd June, 1722. He was Master of the Horse to King George II., and, dying, a bachelor, at his house in Grosvenor Square, was interred in St. George's Chapel, in Audley Street, on the 4th February, 1740. He is the only one, of the guests named, who cannot be traced as a Freemason. His younger brother, James Lumley, being a Groom of the Bedchamber to Frederick, Prince of Wales, was one of those who took part in the Meetings at Kew Palace, in November, 1737. I hope some Brother may be more successful than I have

been, and find evidence of the Earl of Scarborough being a member of the Craft before the Houghton Meeting. One might suppose that he would have been made a Mason then if he had not at that time been already initiated into Freemasonry.

Of the Duke's engagements for the week following, we have not much information. Two extracts from *The Norwich Gazette* must suffice. The first informs us:—

> "London. November 16. Wyes Letter. This Day His Excellency Count Kinski, the Imperial Envoy, gave a Magnificent Entertainment to the Ministers of State, Foreign Ministers, &c. at his House in Hanover Square. And next week the Duke of Lorrain will go to Portsmouth, and will lie at Stanstead in Sussex, the Seat of the Earl of Scarborough."

The second also informs us:—

> "London November 20. Wyes Letter. This Day His Most Serene Highness the Duke of Lorrain dined with his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales."

During the week ending the 20th November, however, an important event had taken place. On Thursday, November 18th, at a meeting of the Royal Society, under the Presidency of Sir Hans Sloane, both the Duke of Lorraine and Count Kinski were elected Fellows of that Society. Under the Statutes of the Royal Society, it is not necessary that certificates of Candidature shall be prepared in the case of Foreign Princes and Ambassadors, so that, beyond the signatures of the Duke and Count Kinski in the Charter Book, their names only appear in the Minutes of the meetings, as recorded in the Journal Book. The Council of the Royal Society have most kindly permitted me to take extracts, from this Book, of the Minutes relating to the Election of these two on the 18th November, and also to their attendance at the meeting of the Society on the 25th November. In volume xv. of the Journal Book of the Royal Society, under the date "November 18, 1731," we find recorded:—

> "The President in the Chair.
>
> Then the President communicated a Letter, which he had just received from his Grace the Duke of Richmond; desiring the President to propose his Royal Highness the Duke of Lorraine, and his Excellency Count Kinski, his Imperial Majesty's Embassador, to be chosen Members of the Royal Society: and that his Royal Highness intended to honour the Society with his presence that day seven night.
>
> The President did accordingly propose his Royal Highness Francis Duke of Lorraine to be a Member of the Royal Society: which was put to the Ballot, and the Society being highly sensible of the Great Honour his Royal Highness did them by desiring to become one of their Members elected him.
>
> Then the President proposed his Excellency Philip Count Kinski, of Chinitz and Tettau, his Imperial Majesty's Embassador, to be a Member of the Royal Society: which was put to the Ballot, and his Excellency was elected."

The Minutes of the Meeting held on Thursday, November 25th, which was attended by the Duke of Lorraine, and also by the Prince of Wales, are lengthy. So far as they relate to the subject matter of this Paper they are as follows:—

> "The President in the Chair.
>
> The President gave notice that whereas their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Lorraine, with other persons of Quality attending on them, intended to honour the Society with their presence at this Meeting; it would be very proper, to prevent the inconveniencing of being streighten'd for want of room, to make

an Order for the day, that no fellow shall have privilege or leave to introduce any stranger or acquaintance into this meeting: which order was accordingly made.

. . . .

His Royal Highness the Duke of Lorraine came to the Society, attended by Count Nipperg Chamberlain to his Imperial and Catholick Majesty, Major-General and Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, Governour of the Country of Luxemburg and the lands of Chigny: Count d'Altham prime Chamberlain to his Royal Highness: the Baron of Geheen Chamberlain to his Highness: and the Baron Pfütschner his Highness's Treasurer, as also Count Dagenfelt.

His Highness signed his name in the Chartir-Book and was admitted as a fellow of the Society.

Count Kinski, Imperial Ambassador, signed the Obligation, and was admitted Fellow.

Lord Gage also signed, and was admitted.

An Experiment was shewn upon the Stone called the Oculus Mundi: which being of itself opake, became transparent, after it had been soak'd some time in fair Water.

As also some Experiments on the strength of the Lord Paisley's Loadstone formerly presented to the Society.

His Royal Highness the Prince came afterwards, attended by Colonel Townshend, and the Lords Baltimore and Guilford; and went immediately to the Repository: to which the Society repaired, in order to see the Experiments on Dr. Frobenius's Phlogiston, and on the transmutations of the Phosphorus mentioned in the last minutes.

A Model of the Fire-Engine at York Buildings was explain'd: as also a model of Mr. Gervais's multiplying-bucket-wheel Engine, formerly mentioned in the Minutes.

The Society then attended his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and his Royal Highness the Duke of Lorraine, up to the Library; to see Mr. Gray's Experiments of Electricity: which succeeded, as is described in former Minutes, notwithstanding the largeness of the Company."

The models mentioned in these Minutes are also referred to in volume xiv. of the Journal Book of the Royal Society, under date, the 11th February, 1731. The record of the proceedings of that Meeting contain the following Minute:—

"Dr. Desaguliers promised to procure a correct draught and compleat Explication of the York Building's Engine: and likewise one of Mr. Gerves Multiplying wheel Bucket Engine which were ordered to be sent to him."

In connection with the Meeting of the Royal Society on the 25th November, 1731, which was attended by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Lorraine, we must remember that, at that date, the Society was not housed in Burlington Buildings, in Piccadilly. In 1710, when under the presidency of Sir Isaac Newton, the Society acquired by purchase a house of its own in Crane Court, Fleet Street, and met there from that date until 1780. On Meeting nights a lamp was hung over the entrance of the Court from Fleet Street.

As far as I can ascertain, from a perusal of the Journal Book of the Royal Society, the Meeting of the Society on the 25th November, 1731, was the only one attended that year by the Prince of Wales. On Thursday, the 18th November, 1731, the Duke of Lorraine had been elected a Member of the Royal Society, and on Saturday, 20th November, he dined with the Prince of Wales. I do not think we shall be presuming too much, or straining probabilities, if we say that the election of the previous Thursday must have been referred to at the Dinner on Saturday, and that the Prince of Wales, being also a Member

of the Royal Society, arranged to be present at the meeting the following week. We certainly know he did attend, and I do not think it was merely a coincidence. The visit of the Duke of Lorraine to the Royal Society did not escape the Journalists of the day, but the one who wrote the paragraph, which I shall now quote, did not hear that the Prince of Wales was also there. *The Norwich Gazette* tells us:—

> "London, November 27th. Wye's Letter:—Last Thursday Evening the Duke of Lorrain, attended by several Persons of Distinction, went to the Royal Society, of which he was the Thursday before admitted a Member, and seemed extraordinary well pleased with the Experiments that were made; and his Conduct there, as well as every where else, captivated the Esteem of all that were Witnesses to it.
>
> This Morning His Serene Highness, with several foreign Ministers and Persons of Quality, set out for Chatham: whither divers of the King's Cooks are gone down with all Sorts of Kitchen-Furniture, &c for entertaining the Duke of Lorrain on Board the Royal Sovereign Man of War of 112 Brass Guns: which for Grandeur Beauty and Ornament, is reckoned the finest Ship in Europe.
>
> . . . .
>
> His Majesty's Ships lying at Chatham, to the Number of 60 Sail, are to be drawn up in a Line, and dressed out in the proper Colours belonging to the Navy of England; And at His Most Serene Highness's passing by, they are to fire seven Rounds.
>
> . . . .
>
> We hear that during the Stay of the Duke of Lorrain at Houghton in Norfolk, a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was held before the Lord Lovell, Grand Master, in which Sir Robert Walpole and Count Kinski were admitted Brethren.
>
> . . . .
>
> The Duke of Lorrain dines next Wednesday with the Duke of Norfolk."

Whether the visit to Chatham, here recorded, was in lieu of the one to Portsmouth, indicated in the paragraph of November 16th, I have not been able to ascertain.

Also, the Lodge at Houghton was being talked of in London, and, in consequence, we get information concerning it in the paragraph just quoted. It is interesting to notice that this account differs from the other two accounts, in the names of those participating in the Meeting, but agrees with the Maid's Head Lodge account as to the ceremony that was performed.

The last paragraph, informing the public of the Duke of Norfolk's Dinner to the Duke of Lorraine on the 1st December, is confirmed by several London newspapers. Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins, who has examined these papers, tells us:—

> "On Wednesday, December 1—as is attested by reports in *The Daily Courant*, *The Daily Advertiser* and *The Daily Post* of December 2—the Duke of Lorraine dined with the Duke of Norfolk at the latter's house in St. James's Square, the first journal testifying that he had been 'entertain'd in a most elegant manner,' the second that the entertainment was 'sumptuous,' and the third that it was 'most sumptuous and magnificent.'"[1]

According to Brother Sir Alfred Robbins, *The Daily Advertiser* also stated that, after dinner, the Duke of Lorraine

[1] *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxix., p. 327.

"retir'd some time, and return'd to his Grace's House to be present at the Assembly, on which occasion it was expected there wou'd be a vast Concourse of the Nobility."

On Friday, December 3rd, we hear of the Duke of Lorraine attending at the French Theatre in the Haymarket, London, and also what must have been the Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge, held that day at the "Devil Tavern, within Temple Bar." *The Norwich Gazette* chronicles the former episode as follows:—

"London, December 4. Wyes Letter to-day tells us:—
Yesterday a Prize was fought at the French Theatre in the Haymarket, between Mr. Figg and Mr. Sparks; at which performance His Serene Highness the Duke of Lorrain, His Excellency Count Kinski, and several Persons of Distinction were present; when the Beauty and Judgment of the Sword was delineated between those two Champions, and with very little Blood shed: His Serene Highness was extremely pleased, expressed his entire satisfaction, and ordered them a Handsome Gratuity. When they had wounded each other, he desired they might desist."

The London newspapers also record this occurrence, the paragraph in the *Daily Courant* being very similar to the one I have just quoted. The account in the *Daily Advertiser* differs; and it also mentions a famous Boxing Match as taking place in the same Theatre afterwards.

The second episode of December 3rd is not referred to in any way in *The Norwich Gazette*, but, in the *Daily Post* for Saturday, December 4th, the following paragraph, under London News, is placed at the top:—

"Last Night his Serene Highness the Duke of Lorrain, the Prince of Wales, and several of the Nobility were at a Lodge of Free-Masons at the Devil Tavern near Temple Bar, where they were handsomely entertained by the Brethren."

The Duke of Lorraine's visit is now drawing to a close; and, as far back as the 23rd November, there is a paragraph in *The Norwich Gazette*, relating to his departure. It says:—

"London, Nov. 23. Wyes Letter states:—
We are informed, that the Duke of Lorrain will stay here till after the Installment at Windsor of the Lords Harrington and Grantham, Knights Companions of the Most Noble Order of the Garter."

The Norwich Gazette does not, however, give us any information as to when this event actually took place; and we next hear of the Duke of Lorraine in that paper on the 9th December, when he is departing from England. This paper tells us:—

"London Decr. 11th. Wye's Letter:—Last Thursday morning about 6 a clock His Majesty's Yacht the Fubbs, Capt. Collier, sailed from Greenwich for Holland, Having on Board His Serene Highness the Duke of Lorrain; as did also His Majesty's Yacht the Mary, Capt. Molloy, with His Highness's Servants and Baggage."

However, from *Collins Peerage of England*,[1] I can supplement this information by two paragraphs. The first is:—

"His Most Serene Highness, Francis Duke of Lorraine (the present Emperor) coming to England in 1731, under the name of Count

[1] *The Peerage of England*, by A. Collins, 4th ed. 1768, vol. i., p. 190, and vol. iv., p. 133.

Blamont, and residing here for some time, and having taken his leave of their Majesties and the Royal Family, his Grace the Duke of Richmond accompanied him to Greenwich, and there entertained him at Dinner, on December 8th, 1731, the day that his Highness embarked for Holland."

The second paragraph is in the account of the life of the Earl of Albemarle, and, in dealing with the year 1731, it tells us:—

"On Dec. 8, the same year, his Lordship (with other Peers) attended Francis-Stephen, Duke of Lorrain (the present Emperor of Germany) to Greenwich, when he embarked, in the Fubbs yacht, for Holland, after residing some time at our Court."

From the next issue of *The Norwich Gazette* I have extracted the following paragraph from the Foreign News, which gives us still later news of the Duke. It says:—

"Hague, December 23 [N.S.] The Duke of Lorrain arrived here this day, and will suddenly set out to continue his journey to Germany."

The Duke's intention in continuing his journey so speedily was, no doubt, to visit the King of Prussia, a visit arranged during his stay in England, for the Earl of Chesterfield, writing from the Hague, before the Duke's arrival there, to George Tilson, an Under Secretary of State, says:—

"Hague December 18 N.S. 1731.

"I am glad the Duke of Lorraine is to see the King of Prussia; for he will then see what he would never believe without seeing. He will find some Difference between his reception in England and his Entertainment in the Corpe de Garde in Berlin.[1]

One further item of news appeared in *The Norwich Gazette* relative to the Duke of Lorraine's visit:—

"London Decr. 14. Wye's Letter:—The Duke of Lorrain having accepted of a sett of Horses as a Present from His Majesty, some few Days before he left this Kingdom, His Highness was thereupon pleased to make a Present to the Right Hon. the Earl of Scarborough of a fine Diamond Ring of about 500 l. value: We hear, His Highness was also pleased to present Count Kinski's Lady with a Rich Sprig of Diamonds for her Hair, and also with an English Bank-Bill for 1000 l."

This concludes my researches, and, although they are not by any means exhaustive, yet I venture to think they conclusively demonstrate that everything possible was done to entertain the Duke in the most handsome manner possible; and that, from His Majesty downwards, he received every consideration during his visit to England of nearly two months' duration.

Having completed my evidence, let me now consider it in relation to the three Masonic episodes, in which the Duke of Lorraine was a central figure. I refer to the Meetings at the Hague, at Houghton Hall, Norfolk, and at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar, in London.

With regard to the Meeting at the Hague, our only information concerning this event is derived from Anderson's second edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, published in 1738. It is clear, from this account, that Anderson was not present at this Meeting. There is no record of the event in the Minute Books of the Grand Lodge. There is no copy of the Deputation written in the Minute Book, as we find in some other cases, nor is there any reference, in the Grand Lodge

[1] *Earl of Chesterfield's Letters*, by Lord Mahon; vol. iii., pp. 85-6.

records, that any such Deputation had ever been granted to Dr. Desaguliers by the Grand Master. From whence, then, did Anderson obtain the facts, which he records on page 129 of the 1738 *Constitutions*? The most likely source is undoubtedly Dr. Desaguliers, who is stated to have acted as Master of the Lodge, and who would have carried out the ceremonies. The chance that Anderson obtained the facts from one of the other Brethren present is remote, and may, I think, be placed on one side. Therefore, accepting Dr. Desaguliers as the fountain, is the paragraph, as given by Anderson, word for word as given to him? The answer is, No, because, as I shall show later, we can point to one alteration that cannot have been made before July, 1737.

Further, I do not think we can assume that, even with the exception of the alteration just alluded to, the account is exactly as Dr. Desaguliers gave it to Anderson. Most Masonic writers have commented upon the inaccuracies and unreliability of Anderson. Bro. W. J. Hughan, in noting the "old regulations," originally appearing in the 1723 *Constitutions*, and stated by Anderson to be reprinted in the 1738 *Constitutions*, says, "the reproduction was not only carelessly done but in several instances distinct departures from the original text are to be detected."[1] He also terms these inaccuracies as "unwarrantable alterations." Sir Alfred Robbins, in his paper *Dr. Anderson of the Constitutions*, in referring to Dr. Anderson's works, says, "It would almost seem as if some demon of incorrectness had entered into this most laborious of fact-collectors, who at the end could not correctly quote even from his own work."[2] In discussing this paper, and Dr. Anderson's methods, Bro. W. J. Songhurst says that in his opinion "no evidence has yet been adduced to show that he was anything but an inaccurate and unreliable historian."[3]

Having shown that Anderson's reliability has been impugned by some of our ablest Masonic scholars, it behoves us to test his statements by other facts and inferences. We want to find out whether "the insatiable desire of Anderson to modernise and alter"[4] was allowed to manifest itself when preparing or revising that portion of the 1738 *Constitutions* which related to the Hague Meeting and the Duke of Lorraine.

This paragraph is one that only finds it counterpart in the paragraphs relating to Frederick Prince of Wales, and the Meetings held at Kew, in 1737. It is interesting to note that the concluding sentence in the latter, "And ever since both in the Grand Lodge and in particular Lodges, the Fraternity joyfully remember his Royal Highness and his Son, in the proper Manner," is, with the exception of the words "and his Son," identical with the last sentence of the second paragraph relating to the Duke of Lorraine. These words cannot have been written until after the birth of a son to the Prince of Wales on the 4th June, 1738, and, therefore, were probably added when the draft or proof was finally revised. As far back as 24th February, 1735, Anderson had reported to Grand Lodge that he had prepared materials for a new edition of the *Book of Constitutions*, and Grand Lodge then appointed a Committee "to revise and compare the same." No doubt, from time to time, these materials were brought up to date. On the 25th January, 1738, Grand Lodge was informed that the Book was ready for the Press, and we know that Anderson's Address "to the Reader" is dated 4th November, 1738.

I venture to suggest that, in 1735, the interpolation between the Grand Lodge Meetings of the 14th May and 24th June, 1731, consisted of one paragraph only, and that it remained in the same condition until after Meetings at Kew Palace in November, 1737. Between that date and the 25th January, 1738, Anderson, having clearly in his mind the two Meetings at Kew Palace, gave his draft a final revision. When he came to the record of the Meeting at the Hague, which either stated that the Duke of Lorraine was made a Mason, or, more specifically, stated that he had received all three Degrees, Anderson would

[1] *Q.C.A.*, vol. vii., p. v.
[2] *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxiii., p. 27.
[3] *idem*, p. 32.
[4] W. J. Hughan, in *Q.C.A.*, vol. vii., p. vii.

certainly notice the difference between that account and the account of the Kew Palace Meetings. As previously stated, we know of one alteration that must have been made in 1737, viz., the addition of the words "(now Grand Duke of Tuscany)". It was only upon the death of John Gaston, the last of the Ruling House of Medici, on the 9th July, 1737, that the Duke of Lorraine became Grand Duke of Tuscany. If Anderson made this addition, which we know of, it is quite likely that he made others, in order to bring the manner in which the three Degrees were conferred upon the Duke of Lorraine into line with the manner they were subsequently conferred upon Frederick, Prince of Wales.

Anderson was present at the Quarterly Communication of Grand Lodge, held at the Devil Tavern, on Friday, December 3rd, 1731, and would at this Meeting have heard the news of the Emergency Lodge at Houghton Hall, held the previous month. A special Lodge Meeting, in which the Duke of Newcastle had participated, was certainly a meeting that would have been talked about. One of the most prominent men of that period, his doings would be the subject of much comment. In the course of six years the details of the Houghton Meeting would probably have faded from his memory, but, on having his mind turned in that direction, Anderson would certainly recollect the central facts. To make the 1731 account relative to the Duke agree with the 1737 account relative to the Prince, a second meeting in 1731 has to be found up, and the Houghton Meeting fills the gap. Although actually taking place in November, 1731, this is forgotten, and the account of the second meeting is placed immediately after the account of the first, and not in its correct chronological sequence. The Duke of Lorraine is made to receive the degree of a Master Mason, the Duke of Newcastle is remembered in connection with the Houghton Meeting, and his name is consequently added as being made a Master Mason at the same time. Lastly, the concluding sentence is copied from the account of the Kew Meeting, and the second paragraph is complete.

The first paragraph required very little alteration. If it originally read "made a Mason," then all that was necessary would be to change it to the degrees of Enter'd Prentice and Fellow Craft. If, on the other hand, all three Degrees were specified—a very doubtful conjecture—then what simpler than to erase the Master Mason's Degree from the other two degrees?

Before turning our attention to the Houghton Meeting, let us consider the Hague Meeting from another aspect. At this date evolutionary changes were undoubtedly in progress with regard to the Degrees worked in the various Lodges under the Grand Lodge of England. According to Bro. Gould "it was not until the fourth decade of the last century that the existence of a Third Masonic Degree met with any very general acceptance."[1] A "Master's Lodge" or "Master Masons' Lodge" is first referred to in a List of Lodges, compiled by Thomas Towl in 1733, and in a List, which Bro. Lane has proved to have been compiled in 1732,[2] no mention is made of any such Lodges. It is not until the Engraved List of 1736 that we find Masters' Lodges attached to Lodges, which have been constituted at some previous period. It is not my intention to embark upon a detailed consideration of the rise of our Tri-gradal system of degrees, but merely to show that, in 1731, the system of degrees was in process of expansion, and that, as Bro. Gould has stated, the "English Craft as a body was only becoming generally instructed in the ampler ceremonial between 1733 and 1740."[3] Keeping in mind this situation of affairs, two conjectures are open to us as to the ceremonies performed by Dr. Desaguliers at the Hague. He may have carried out the older ritual, whereby the essentials of the present First and Second Degrees were communicated to the entered apprentice, and the essentials of the present Third Degree, though less complete, to the Fellow Craft or Master. On the other hand, if the newer ceremonial was adopted, then there would be none better to confer the degrees thereunder than Dr. Desaguliers.

[1] *A.Q.C.*, vol. i., p. 176.
[2] *A.Q.C.*, vol. xii., p. 37.
[3] *A.Q.C.*, vol. i., p. 177.

Whether it was the one or the other, I venture to state that Dr. Desaguliers did not half do his work. You will recollect that, from the newspaper extracts I have quoted, it was believed in England, in May, 1731, that the Duke of Lorraine was proceeding to that country the next month. It must, however, have become known, soon after he had set out on his journey from Vienna, that England was not to be included in his tour. This news also quickly filtered through, and appeared in the newspapers. It was, doubtless, this very fact that was the cause of the special Lodge being held at the Hague; and perhaps arranged by our Ambassador, the Earl of Chesterfield, himself a Mason. Whatever the cause was, the fact remains that Dr. Desaguliers did go to the Hague, and hold a Lodge there, at which the Duke of Lorraine became a Freemason. Is it therefore likely that Dr. Desaguliers would have left his work incomplete, and have been content to leave it to chance as to whether the Duke of Lorraine ever received the Degree of a Master Mason? Again, I venture to say No to this question, as I cannot conceive so good a Mason as Dr. Desaguliers failing to grasp the opportunities of this unique occasion, and neglecting to confer upon the Duke of Lorraine any of the degrees worked under the authority of the Grand Lodge of England.

We will now turn our attention to the Meeting at Houghton Hall, Norfolk. We know that the Duke of Lorraine set out from Euston Hall, Suffolk, to Houghton Hall on Wednesday, November 3rd. As the distance between these two seats is about thirty-seven miles, the journey would be completed in the day. The Duke of Lorraine on leaving Houghton returned to London, and arrived there about noon on Saturday, November 13th. The distance is one hundred miles, and, therefore, Houghton was doubtless left the previous day. It was during the intervening period that a Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons was held at Houghton Hall. Our information, concerning this Meeting, comes from three different sources.

First, we have the extract from *The Norwich Gazette*, which I have already quoted. This tells us that a Lodge was held, that Lord Lovell the Grand Master was present, and that Sir Robert Walpole and Count Kinski were "admitted Brethren." Secondly, we have Dr. Anderson's account in the 1738 *Constitutions*, which informs us that at an occasional Lodge, formed by Lord Lovell, he "made Brother Lorrain and Brother Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle Master Masons." Lastly, we have the Maid's Head Lodge account, which tells us that this Lodge was summoned by the Grand Master to Houghton, and that Thomas Johnson, the then Master, made the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Essex, Major General Churchill and Lord Lovell's Chaplain Masons in the presence of the Duke of Lorraine and many others.

Let us now consider this evidence, and weigh it up. In all three accounts we are told of Lord Lovell's presence. Lord Lovell resided at Holkham Hall, Norfolk, a neighbouring mansion, about twelve miles distant from Houghton. There is little doubt that Lord Lovell, with the Duke of Richmond, a Past Grand Master, and perhaps the Earl of Albemarle, who a few years later we hear of as a Mason, arranged for the holding of the occasional Lodge. So far as the rest of the evidence is concerned it is conflicting, both as to the ceremony performed and those participating in that ceremony. I think we can quickly dispose of the newspaper account. It was, doubtless, the result of gossip, and not one of those officially inspired paragraphs, which appear in papers from time to time. Edward Lambert may have been the fountain-head. He had gained considerable notice as Grand Lodge Steward, besides being one of the leading confectioners. He was at Houghton during the visit, and may even have acted as Tyler, although it is more likely that the Maid's Head Lodge brought their own. Still, the Lodge would have been much talked of at Houghton, and news soon spreads. The reliability of such a paragraph as this cannot be rated very high, and its reliability would decrease as its wealth of detail increased. We may, perhaps, therefore look with more suspicion upon the names of the initiates than upon the general ceremony performed. I think, however, it is some evidence of a negative character, that

the Duke of Lorraine was a spectator of, rather than a participant in, the ceremonies of the Lodge. If the Royal Guest had received the Third Degree, it would doubtless have become known and the news taken to London.

Having impugned the accuracy of the Journalist, so far as he gives us the names of the Initiates at the Lodge at Houghton Hall, an interesting query still remains for our investigation. Was Sir Robert Walpole a Freemason, when the Duke of Lorraine visited Houghton, and, if not, did he subsequently become one? Obviously, in November, 1731, if he had already been made a Mason, he had not then publicly identified himself with the Craft, or the gossip of his initiation would not have been allowed to appear in print. On the other hand it is doubtful whether Sir Robert Walpole, or his Guests, would have devised an entertainment for H.R.H., at which the Host would not have been able to have been present. Until further evidence is forthcoming we cannot answer the first part of the query I have propounded. With regard to the latter part of the query we can produce some evidence, which shows that Sir Robert Walpole was not only a member of the Craft, but attained the Master's Chair of the Grand Stewards' Lodge, although his name does not appear in any of the lists of the Grand Stewards. The evidence I allude to is a Portrait of Sir Robert, painted by Van Loo, an illustration of which appeared in the *Masonic Record*, in volume iii., at page 941. This Painting is in the possession of Bro. Robert Baker, of Harrogate, and depicts Sir Robert Walpole wearing the Insignia of the Master of the Grand Stewards' Lodge. I have been in correspondence with Bro. Baker, and he tells me that he purchased the Painting some time ago from Mr. A. J. Saunders, now deceased, who was Chairman of the Leeds Art Gallery Committee, but of its earlier history he cannot tell me anything. On the back of the painting are the words "Sir Robert Walpole wearing the insignia of the Master of the Grand Stewards' Lodge." Bro. Baker tells me that there is no doubt as to the Artist being Van Loo. This dates the Picture within a period of five years. John Baptist Van Loo was born at Aix, in Provence, on the 14th January, 1684. After living abroad, and becoming a Member of the French Academy, he came to England in 1737, where he attracted considerable attention by his portraits of Colley Cibber and another. Sir Robert Walpole gave him his patronage, and he became Court Painter. He painted the Prince and Princess of Wales, and his portrait of Sir Robert Walpole, in the Robes of Chancellor of the Exchequer, now hangs in the National Portrait Gallery. Van Loo's health failed, and he returned to Paris in 1742, where he died on the 19th December, 1745. Unless, therefore, some mistake has been made, and the portrait in question is not that of Sir Robert Walpole, we have evidence as to his position in the Craft at some date between the years 1737 and 1742. One can hardly think that Sir Robert Walpole would have allowed himself to be painted wearing Masonic regalia which he was not entitled to wear.

We now have to consider Anderson's account. I have already given you at some length my conjectures as to how the paragraph, immediately succeeding the account of the Hague Meeting, came into existence. Besides these conjectures there are one or two further points, that may profitably be considered in dealing with this account. In a chronological history of the Grand Lodge, the paragraph in question has been placed prior to the Meeting of Grand Lodge on the 24th June, 1731, whereas we know the Meeting took place at Houghton, in November of that year. Anderson's information as to this Meeting must, therefore, have been vague and inaccurate. He could not have been present himself, and we have no evidence from which we can state that his friend Dr. Desaguliers was present. If he had been, and had given Anderson the information, he would certainly have inserted Dr. Desaguliers' name as being present, as he did in recording the Hague and Kew Meetings. Again, if Dr. Desaguliers had been present at Houghton, he would most certainly have performed the ceremony, which Anderson states was performed by Lord Lovell. This last statement renders the account a little suspicious, because it is open to considerable doubt whether the Grand Master would have been able to

work the Degree of a Master Mason, which at that period was undergoing considerable changes. If the Duke of Lorraine was to have received the Degree of a Master Mason at Houghton, would not Dr. Desaguliers have been sent for? There would have been ample time to have brought him down from London, and he was the 'degree giver' of the period, when it was particularly desired to have a ceremony well performed. Again, if the Duke of Lorraine had arrived in England as a Fellow Craft only, would he have waited, or been allowed to wait, until he visited Houghton Hall, about three weeks after he arrived, before he received the Degree of a Master Mason? My answer to this is, No. He would have visited one or other of those famous Lodges in London, and received the degree from Dr. Desaguliers, or some experienced Master, recognised as an expert exponent of the new system. If, however, the intention of Lord Lovell and the Duke of Richmond, at the request probably of the Duke's host, Sir Robert Walpole, was to provide an entertainment for the Duke of Lorraine, by letting him as a Mason see an English Lodge Meeting, then everything becomes clear, and there would be no need for Dr. Desaguliers to be sent for. I suggest that during the visit the guests had prevailed upon the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Essex and Major General Churchill to be made Masons, or they had evinced a desire to be initiated, and the Lodge was summoned from Norwich for the purpose.

In 1731 there were two Lodges working in Norfolk. One met at the Maid's Head, at Norwich, and was constituted on the 11th May, 1724. The other met at the Duke's Head, King's Lynn, and was constituted on the 1st October, 1729. From a newspaper extract, dated 9th May, 1730, we learn that the Master of this latter Lodge was Captain Turner. I have been able to identify him with Captain John Turner, the son of William Turner, of North Elmham, Norfolk. John Turner received the Freedom of the Borough of King's Lynn in 1691, and was a Merchant in that Town. In 1712, when Sir Robert Walpole, one of the two M.P.'s for King's Lynn, was expelled from the House of Commons, John Turner was put forward in his stead, and was duly elected through the Walpole influence. At the Election the following year he, however, stood down in favour of Sir Robert Walpole, who was duly re-elected. He was collector and customer at Lynn, also Captain of the Trained Bands. He was an Alderman of the Borough, and became its Mayor in 1715. His Brother Charles married Mary Walpole, an elder Sister of Sir Robert Walpole, and was created a Baronet on the 27th April, 1727. On the death of Sir Charles Turner, on the 24th November, 1738, without male issue, Captain John Turner succeeded him as Second Baronet, but died two months later, in January, 1739. The Turner family bore great sway in Lynn for a whole century. Their Lynn residence was known as the Duke's Head, so named in honour of the Duke of York. This Lynn Lodge was represented at the Quarterly Communications of Grand Lodge, held on 28th August and 15th December, 1730, and the 14th May, 1731. At the last-named Communication Lord Lovell presided, as Grand Master, and was supported by, amongst others, Lord Coleraine and Martin Folkes. These Masons were, like Lord Lovell, prominent men in Norfolk; the former having large Estates at Docking, and the latter residing at Hillington. The question arises, why was not this Lodge summoned by Lord Lovell to journey to Houghton in November, 1731? The distance was only fourteen miles, whereas the Maid's Head Lodge from Norwich had to travel thirty-four miles. The Lodge must have been well known to the Grand Master. Holkham Hall was only a few miles from Lynn; the Master, in 1730, was a well known and influential man, and the Master and Wardens had up to that time constantly attended Grand Lodge. If Lord Lovell's intention had been that he himself should make the Duke of Lorraine a Master Mason, with the assistance of the Duke of Richmond and the other influential Brethren present, and a Local Lodge was only required for the purpose of legalising the ceremony, then, surely, this Lodge, that met at Lynn, would have served the purpose admirably. Being nearer at hand, it could be got quicker, and little or no preparation would be required for their subsequent

entertainment. In fact, it was not summoned, but the Lodge at Norwich was selected; and this supplies us with some slight evidence, of a negative character, that the presence of the Lodge was not required for the purpose I have just suggested. Besides, if the Meeting that took place at the Duke of Montague's, at Ditton, in 1734, may be taken as a precedent, no Lodge at all would have been summoned. Just as Dr. Desaguliers initiated Bob Webber at Ditton in the presence of such of the house party as were Masons, so also would Lord Lovell have performed the ceremony of the Third Degree upon the Duke of Lorraine and the Duke of Newcastle at Houghton. We must, therefore, look for another reason to account for the Lodge coming over from Norwich, as, unless we label the Maid's Head Lodge account as an entire fable, we must assume they did go to Houghton, although Anderson's account is silent on the point.

The Lodge meeting at the Maid's Head, Magdalen Street, Norwich, was, as I have before stated, constituted on the 11th May, 1724. According to the account prefacing the Minutes, Martin Folkes performed the ceremony. He is returned as a member in the 1725 Grand Lodge List, and may still have been one in 1731. On the 3rd August, 1724, Martin Folkes wrote to the R.W. Master and Wardens of the Lodge a letter, in which the following sentence occurs:—

> "Give me leave to congratulate you with the having so flourishing and well constituted a Lodge, which I may with truth averr to be one of the most regular, and best order'd I have seen at all, and you are infinite happy in the unanimity and perfect agreement and fraternal friendship of all your members"

Lord Coleraine became a member of the Lodge in 1728. He and Lord Lovell appear to have been intimate, and when the latter was prevented by illness from attending Grand Lodge for his installation as Grand Master, it was Lord Coleraine who acted as his proxy.

I suggest, therefore, that this Norwich Lodge, which had received the approval, from time to time, of the rulers of the Craft, was selected for a definite purpose; and that it was because it conducted the Lodge ceremonies in a more dignified and impressive manner than the Lodge at Lynn. The House party at Houghton included several Freemasons, some of whom are mentioned in the newspaper accounts of the visit, and Masonry must have formed the topic of conversation at different times. Three of the party who were not Masons, having expressed their desire to be initiated, a Lodge had to be summoned. Incidentally, it supplied an entertainment for the Royal Guest.

I have already quoted the account of the Houghton Meeting contained in the Minute Book of the Maid's Head Lodge. The Minutes of this Lodge are in many different handwritings, but, from the fact that the handwriting changes with each fresh Secretary, we may assume that each Secretary wrote his own Minutes up, and that they are in his own handwriting. The account I have quoted is in the same handwriting as the Minutes during the period when Thomas Johnson was Secretary and Treasurer, viz., 1751. I, therefore, suggest that the account was written into the Minute Book by Thomas Johnson, who was Master of the Lodge in 1731 when the Lodge went over to Houghton, and that the account is, therefore, not merely that of an eye witness, but of one who took the leading part of the ceremony, a ceremony which must have been indelibly impressed upon his memory. Thomas Johnson was an apothecary, and was made a Mason immediately after the constitution of the Lodge in 1724.[1] Mr. Fred. Johnson, the Archivist for the City of Norwich, has very kindly searched the Records of the City, and finds that there was admitted to the Freedom of the City, on the 24th February, 1715/16, one, Thomas Johnson, Apothecary, apprentice of Valentine Pell. He was elected a Town Councillor for Wymer Ward, on the 18th March, 1731, and continued to serve that Ward in that capacity until March, 1737. For 1731 there is no record of whom was

[1] *A.Q.C.*, vol. xv., p. 176.

appointed Speaker of the Common Council, but on the 3rd May, 1732, Thomas Johnson was appointed. Thomas Johnson was re-elected Speaker annually up to and including the year 1736. On the 24th February, 1737, we find that Edmund Hooke was elected Speaker of the Commons and Coroner instead of Mr. Thomas Johnson "lately chosen Sheriff." I may say that Thomas Johnson had been annually elected one of the two Coroners from 3rd May, 1730, to the 24th February, 1737. At the Court of Mayoralty, Norwich, held on the 31st August, 1736, we find recorded, "This day Thomas Johnson of St. Andrew, gentn. unanimously elected Sheriff of this City and County of the same, for the ensuing year." In 1734 Sir Robert Walpole visited the City of Norwich, and was presented with the Freedom of that City in a gold box. It is interesting to note that the Speaker of the Common Council, on that occasion, was Thomas Johnson, who had visited Houghton Hall, in November, 1731. After his term as Sheriff Thomas Johnson seems to have retired into obscurity. He appears to have continued to live in the Parish of St. Andrews, and can be traced there up to 1750 or thereabouts. He remained a member of the Maid's Head Lodge until 1752, after which he occasionally attended the Lodge as a visitor, his last attendance being on the 7th October, 1756. Whilst a member, he continually acted as Deputy Master in the absence of the reigning Master. An appointment of "Deputy Master" was made specially for him on St. John's Day, 27th Decembr, 1751, but died out upon his retirement. He was most constant in his attendance, and missed very few Lodge Meetings.

The account must have been copied into the Minute Book after Lord Lovell was created Earl of Leicester, in 1744, but doubtless before the commencement of the "list of members in 1745," which comes after the account and a set of nine rules given to the Lodge by Dr. Desaguliers before referred to. From the List of Members just mentioned, there must have been, when the account was copied into the Minute Book, at least three other members of the Lodge who were members of the Lodge in 1731. If Anderson's account is to be accepted, then we have no alternative but to stigmatise the Lodge account as a deliberate concoction of falsehoods. Personally, I cannot bring myself to believe that the account we have at the beginning of the Minute Book of the Maid's Head Lodge is a fabrication, intended to deceive succeeding members of the Lodge, and induce them to believe in an honour that was not theirs. This history was to preface the new Minute Book, and one cannot but suppose considerable care was taken in its preparation, so that an accurate record might be preserved of the events of outstanding interest that had happened. The By-Laws of the Lodge follow immediately after the account, and there is no suggestion that the account is merely the rough notes of someone who jotted them down from hearsay. It has all the appearance of accuracy, with a detail which bears a truthful look upon the face of it.

A word or so may be mentioned as to the persons, who, according to the Lodge account, were made Masons. The Duke of Newcastle is mentioned in the newspapers as being with the Duke of Lorraine at Houghton, and he also entertained the Royal Duke at his own residence. The Earl of Essex was born in 1697. In 1718 he was Gentleman of the Bedchamber to George II., when Prince of Wales; an appointment which he continued to hold upon the Prince's accession to the Throne. That he might be at Houghton is quite likely, as he was that year appointed Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the King of Sardinia at Turin; an office he discharged until 1736. This appointment must have been upon the recommendation of Sir Robert Walpole, then at the height of his power. Major General Charles Churchill was the natural son of a Brother of the Duke of Marlborough. From 1715 to his death, in 1745, he was the member for Castle Rising in Norfolk. This was through the influence of the Walpoles, with whom he was connected by marriage, having wedded Anna Maria, a natural daughter of Sir Robert Walpole. Here again we see a reason why Major General Churchill might have been included in the Houghton house party.

In the *Dictionary of National Biography*, under General Charles Churchill (1656-1714), we learn:—

> "Churchill's natural son, Charles Churchill, was created a lieutenant-general on 2nd July 1739, and was also Governor of Plymouth. He died in 1745, having been for thirty years member for Castle Rising in Norfolk through the influence of the Walpoles, with whom he was connected by his marriage to Anna Maria a natural Daughter of Sir Robert Walpole. By Mrs. Oldfield, the celebrated actress, he had a natural son, the third Charles Churchill. Much information concerning him and his father will be found in Egerton's life of Mrs. Oldfield, p. 299 &c." [1]

There is, however, a mistake in the account I have just quoted, when referring to Churchill's marriage. It was his son, by Mrs. Oldfield, the third Charles Churchill, who married Anna Maria Walpole, in February, 1746. Major-General Churchill was on very friendly terms with Sir Robert Walpole. The Artist Wootten painted Sir Robert Walpole and Major-General Churchill together in a hunting scene, and amongst the former's collection of busts and heads there were two antiques given to General Churchill by Alexander Albani, and by him given to Sir Robert.[2] Major-General Churchill also presented to Sir Robert Walpole a painting called Architecture, believed to be by Polydore. It was valued at £300 when the Houghton pictures were sold in 1779 to Catherine, Empress of Russia, for £40,555. Both the *London Magazine* and the *Gentleman's Magazine* record the death of General Charles Churchill at Grosvenor Street, London, on the 14th May, 1745, and refer to his having been in the 10th Dragoons. General Charles Churchill must not be confused with the Colonel George Churchill, who is shown as a Member of the Lodge meeting at the Rummer in Charing Cross, in the Grand Lodge Lists for 1723 and 1725, and who is stated by Bro. Wonnacott to have also been in the 10th Dragoons, and a natural son of General Charles Churchill.[3] Whether Charles and George were both natural sons of the first General Charles Churchill, or whether the two have got mixed up, I am not able to say; but we do know that the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *London Magazine* both also record the death of a Lieutenant-General George Churchill on the 19th August, 1753.

I have not been able, at present, to discover the name of Lord Lovell's Chaplain in November, 1731. That he should have been present is what one might expect; as chaplains to the nobility took a very intimate position in the household at that date.

I now come to the third Masonic episode relating to the Duke of Lorraine. Our information concerning it is contained in the *Daily Post* of Saturday, December 4th, 1731, and I have already quoted it earlier in this Paper. This small paragraph was unearthed by the perseverance of Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins, and is contained in his article *Frederick Prince of Wales, as a Freemason.*[4] In this article Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins discusses the Meeting at the Devil Tavern on Friday, December 3rd, 1731, and comes to the opinion that the journalist, responsible for the paragraph, has made an error, and that, although there is no reason to doubt its accuracy so far as the Duke of Lorraine is concerned, yet the Prince of Wales did not attend that gathering. Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins goes on to say that the reason for this belief was because he could not "trace any special association or kinship between the Duke and the Prince which would have accounted for their being together on such an occasion, half-a-dozen years before the latter, on the evidence available, is known to have been a Mason." It is precisely upon this very point that I venture to say that the information I have collected has a very material bearing. From the newspaper extracts and letters I have quoted, we know that, on the 13th October,

1 *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. x., pp. 308-9.
2 *Norfolk Tour*, vol. i., page 533.
3 *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxx., p 195.
4 *A.Q.C.*, vol. xxix., pp. 326-9.

Lord Malpas went with the compliments of the Prince of Wales to the Duke. On the 14th October, the Duke paid a visit to the Prince of Wales, after visiting their Majesties in their private apartments. On the 16th October, the Prince of Wales was present when the Duke went hunting, in Windsor Forest, as the guest of their Majesties, and also at the informal dinner given afterwards at Hampton Court. On the 29th October, the Duke and Prince of Wales witnessed the Lord Mayor's Show, and went together to the Theatre Royal, in Lincoln's Inn Fields. On the 20th November, after returning to London from Houghton, the Duke dined with the Prince of Wales, and, on the 25th November, they both attended the Meeting of the Royal Society, it being the only recorded attendance of the Prince of Wales in that year. These facts, I submit, do point to an association between the two, which might easily account for the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Lorraine being present at this function together, provided we can get over the fact that the Prince was not made a Mason until the 5th November, 1737; that is if Anderson's account is to be believed.

The newspaper tells us that these two Royal Personages "were handsomely entertained by the Brethren." This certainly points to a dinner, the word "entertained" being generally used in that connection, and was so used when describing the dinner party, which the Duke of Norfolk gave the previous day. At this period we must remember that dinner parties were day-time affairs, and that it was not until recent years that Grand officers dined together *after* the Quarterly Communications. It has been clearly pointed out, by Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins, that it was not a private Lodge that met at the Devil Tavern on December 3rd, but was the Quarterly Communication held on that day, which is duly recorded in the official Minutes of Grand Lodge, and which are available for reference in consequence of the labours of Bro. Songhurst. At this Meeting forty-six Lodges were represented, the largest attendance between 1725 and 1732. There must, we may surmise, have been some considerable attraction to have drawn together such a large muster. The Minutes, themselves, do not afford any clue: the proceedings recorded mainly relate to the Petition of North Stainer, and do not seem to have been the subject of much contention. If, however, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Lorraine were to be present at the Dinner preceding the Meeting, then the number is easily accounted for. The Minutes do not refer, in any way, to the visit recorded in the *Daily Post*; but, if the entertainment of the Royal Guests took place before the commencement of the business, then we can understand the Grand Secretary omitting all reference to the event, especially as the Prince of Wales was not at that period a Freemason. Dr. Anderson's name is recorded as being present at this Quarterly Communication, and it is rather surprising that he has made no reference to the visit in the 1738 *Constitutions*. If, however, Anderson had not attended the Dinner, but had only come later for the Meeting, it might have escaped his memory, especially as he mainly copied from the Grand Lodge Minutes, which did not refer to the visit. It is, also, noteworthy that the Quarterly Communication was presided over by the Deputy G.M., Thomas Batson; and this may be accounted for, if we suppose that the Grand Master left, before the Meeting, with his Royal Guests.

The Duke of Lorraine was nearly at the end of his visit to England. Although we only know of one Lodge that he attended—that which met at Houghton Hall—yet many of his hosts were Freemasons, and it is more than likely that they desired to entertain him, before he left our shores, in the Masonic atmosphere of the Devil Tavern; a Tavern which had been associated with Freemasonry as far back as 1723, and had been one of the meeting-places of Grand Lodge since 20th May, 1725.

I also see no reason why the Prince of Wales should not have been a guest. No doubt the Rulers of the Craft hoped to interest the Heir Apparent in Freemasonry, and what better way to do it than in company with the Duke of Lorraine. By stimulating the Prince's interest they might expect him to evince a desire to participate in the Craft Mysteries, a desire which eventually culminated in his initiation six years later. No esoteric ceremonies need be

performed whilst the Prince was present, as the business portion of the Meeting would naturally come after the Dinner and after the Royal Guests had departed.

I, therefore, with all due deference, submit that there is nothing improbable in the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Lorraine visiting, and being entertained by, Grand Lodge, and that their being together on such an occasion is equally as likely as their being together at the Theatre, or the Royal Society, even although the Prince was not a Freemason. Unless, therefore, perchance, the informant to the *Daily Post* mixed up the visit of the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Lorraine to the Royal Society on the 25th November with the Grand Lodge Meeting on the 3rd December, which is hardly likely, there is some evidence to support the submission I have just put forward.

In conclusion, I trust I have not wearied you by the length of this Paper. Whilst putting facts before you I walked with a sure tread, but when giving you surmises, probabilities and suggestions, I felt that my foothold was not nearly so secure. It is with considerable diffidence that I, as a young Mason, although a very keen one, venture to place before my seniors these theories of mine. I do it in the hope that, by criticism, these theories may be winnowed, that the wheat may be garnered for future use, and that the chaff may be relegated to perdition.

The notes I have put forward as to the Meeting of the 3rd December, 1731, although I trust of interest, are secondary to my main object, which was to place before you such facts as I could collect concerning the Occasional Lodge held at Houghton, and by arguments deduced therefrom endeavour to substantiate the Norfolk account of a Norfolk incident, written by one who was present, and who bore an honoured name in Norfolk Freemasonry for many years.

Bro. J. Heron Lepper said:—

I would like to congratulate Brother Daynes on a piece of work that is not only interesting but also convincing. If I do not apply the epithet of "complete" to it that is because Brother Daynes himself has indicated lines which if investigated might possibly lead to further knowledge.

In the course of a hasty visit paid to the British Museum last Saturday I examined the catalogues to see if any contemporary pamphlets had appeared on the visit. I found one. Its title runs: "The History of the House of Lorraine with an exact genealogy of that most illustrious family and some account of his Serene Highness the Duke of Lorraine, now residing in England. Done from the French. London: Printed in the year 1731 (price sixpence)."

I am sorry to say this pamphlet proved quite valueless and full of errors. For one thing, it gives the Duke's name wrong, mixing him up with his elder brother Leopold Clement, who was born in 1707. Still, the very appearance of such a pamphlet in this year is an additional token of the interest aroused by the visit. I give its title so that other enquirers may not waste time over examining it.

Coming to the paper itself I am inclined to draw certain conclusions from the evidence presented so clearly by our Brother.

I accept the Minute of the Maid's Head Lodge as a record of what actually took place at Houghton Hall.

Thomas Johnson's account bears the stamp of truth. Consider for a moment, if he had wished to put a feather in the cap of his Lodge by forging some Masonic event which had never taken place, would he not in the first instance have copied the account given by Anderson in the 1738 *Constitutions*, and thus have had the authority of a former Grand Officer for his statement? But, mark you, he is very far from copying Anderson. He gives a distinctly different version, and one which is far more probable. I do not see how we can avoid accepting the word of Johnson in preference to that of James Anderson, D.D. Nor is the incident unimportant, for every single scrap of

evidence that comes to us from outside sources tends in one direction, to show James Anderson as a historian whose very simplest statement of fact must be taken with a very large spoonful of salt.

To my mind, Bro. Daynes's further suggestion that the Maid's Head Lodge was invited to Houghton Hall on account of its high reputation for good work has much to commend it. We cannot say that he has proved his case, but he has suggested such a plausible explanation that it will take some very strong rebutting evidence to make me, for one, adopt another theory.

Further, I think on all the evidence as presented by Bro. Daynes we must abandon the idea that our Brother the Duke of Lorraine was initiated at the Hague in *May* or *June*, 1731. The only reason for assuming this date is because of the occurrence being sandwiched into Anderson's meanderings between the Grand Lodge meetings of 14th May and 24th June, and Anderson, I reiterate, is no safe guide.

The *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, which I should imagine is a trustworthy guide as regards dates, tells us that the Duke of Lorraine left Vienna for the Netherlands at the end of April, and that he spent some time there before going on to Holland. I suggest that he would certainly have stayed well into June in the Netherlands, if not later. But this point could probably be put beyond dispute by examining some contemporary newspapers. The letter read from Dr. Desaguliers at the Royal Society on the 11th November, 1731, certainly shows him to have been in Holland just immediately previous to this date. And my belief is that we should place the initiation of the Duke of Lorraine some time in the month of October. If it ever becomes possible to trace the movements of the others stated by Anderson to have been present at this initiation, we may even arrive at an approximate date. But here again we are up against the old trouble of relying on a notoriously unreliable writer for our facts.

The question as to whether the Duke of Lorraine received two degrees or three is in interesting one; but we have no evidence to justify a conclusion. The ceremony at Houghton Hall seems to have been merely an initiation. I believe we should have heard of a Master's Lodge, had the third degree been conferred. Besides 'Making' is the proper term for the initiation ceremony.

I am sure all of us who have recently been reading Bro. Daynes's articles on Masonry in Norfolk, in the *Masonic Record*, and got that Oliver Twistish feeling as a result, will agree that our expectations in this paper have not been disappointed. I am only voicing the hopes of many in wishing that Bro. Daynes may continue his good work among the Masonic records of his county. There is plenty of material to work on, as is quite evident, and it is also quite evident that he will bring to the task of dealing with that material great talents of industry and intelligence which will eventually put the whole Craft under an obligation, as they have already put us as a Lodge.

Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter *writes*:—

We are indebted to Bro. Gilbert W. Daynes for an interesting paper on "The Duke of Lorraine and English Freemasonry in 1731," although, really, not a great deal has been brought to light about the Masonic practices of that date. It has not, indeed, been established that the Duke ever became a Master Mason at all, for the evidence of the Rev. Dr. James Anderson is notoriously unreliable.

The main plank in Bro. Daynes's argument seems to be the entry on page i. of the Minute Book of the Maid's Head Lodge at Norwich, which in itself is well enough known to Masonic students. It is more than doubtful, however, whether such evidence is admissible, as it was, apparently, not penned until some twelve years after the event it purports to record. True, Bro. Daynes suggests that the handwriting is that of Bro. Thomas Johnson, who was

not only an eye-witness, but an actual participant in the proceedings; but this is hardly sufficient to carry conviction. Indeed, if the gathering at Houghton Hall had really been an emergency meeting of the Maid's Head Lodge it should have been entered in a previous Minute Book.

I am afraid that, in the absence of a contemporary record, we shall need to leave the question open of where and when—if ever—the Duke of Lorraine took the third regular step in Freemasonry.

Bro. GEO. W. BULLAMORE *writes*:—

The early years of the Masonry of the Moderns was a Masonry of Fellow Crafts, and the non-possession of the Master's degree was no bar to office. Masters Lodges were entirely separate from Fellow Craft Lodges, and probably required an entirely different arrangement of furniture and officers. They appear to have been almost as much a side-track as the Royal Arch of the present day. It is, therefore, unsafe to build an argument on the possibility that Dr. Desaguliers conferred all three degrees on the Duke of Lorraine at the Hague.

In my opinion, it is best to take the various statements as they stand. There is no slur cast on Thomas Johnson by Anderson's account, or by the acceptance of that account by Bro. Bradley. My interpretation is as follows:—

The Duke of Lorraine was made a Mason, *i.e.*, a Fellow Craft at the Hague by Dr. Desaguliers. The Maid's Head Lodge, like many other Lodges of its day, was originally a Fellow Craft Lodge, and on account of the excellence of the working was chosen to hold a Lodge at Houghton Hall to admit the Duke of Newcastle and others into Masonry. The Duke of Lorraine, as a Fellow Craft was present.

On the same, or a subsequent date, Lord Lovell formed a Masters Lodge and conferred the third degree on the Duke of Lorraine and the Duke of Newcastle. Possibly the host, Sir Robert Walpole, if a Mason (Fellow Craft) was also raised, together with Count Kinski and others of the party. Allowing for the writer of Wye's letter not understanding the difference between admission to Masonry and admission to the third degree, this interpretation reconciles all accounts of what took place at Houghton Hall. Johnson and Anderson are not in conflict, because they are dealing with different Lodges. Anderson and Wye deal with the same Lodge, and each names two of the candidates.

Bro. W. J. WILLIAMS said:—

May I be permitted to add my tribute of congratulation to our Bro. Daynes on his excellent paper? It evinces a talent for historical research, painstaking enquiry, and an appreciation of the bearing and meaning of facts collected such as this Lodge has from the first encouraged and evoked.

One great factor of the paper is that it brings before us in one view nearly all the available materials for forming a judgment upon the various matters discussed, and so enables us to appreciate the value of the evidence even when we do not accept the conclusions.

It is a curious thing that not one of the recorders cited by our Brother as to the Masonic events at the Hague and in Norfolk gives any day or month in the year 1731 when the crucial events happened. The industry and insight of our Brother have practically fixed the dates.

It would be interesting if we could ascertain the source whence our Bro. Bradley derived his statement that the Duke of Lorraine received the third degree under the name of Bro. Lothringen. This German rendering of Lorraine appears nowhere else in the paper and may possibly point to an additional narrative which has escaped Bro. Daynes's search, and may throw more light on the transaction.

It should also be mentioned that in vol. iv., *A.Q.C.*, p. 181, in a Sketch of the Earlier History of Masonry in Austria and Hungary, Bro. Lad. de Malczovitch makes the following statement:—

> "But an event even more important for Masonry in general, especially for that of Austria, took place in the Netherlands; it was the initiation of Francis Duke of Lorraine, afterwards Roman Emperor. Francis Stephen, born 1708, a son of Leopold Joseph Duke of Lorraine succeeded his father in the duchy of that country 1729. At the very commencement of his sovereignty he made a journey to Holland, where he took steps for his reception into the Order of Freemasons and sought on the same occasion, most likely, connection with Dutch alchemists, then held in great esteem.
>
> His initiation took place between May 14th and June 24th, 1731, at the Hague, a deputation consisting of Bros. John Theophilus Desaguliers as Master, John Stanhope and John Holtzendorf as Wardens, the Earl of Chesterfield, Strickland Esq., Benjamin Headley, and one Dutch Brother (whose name is not mentioned) having been sent by the Grand Master to hold a Special Lodge at the Hague, by which the young Duke was initiated an E.A. and passed to the degree of F.C. In the course of the same year the Duke visited England, on which occasion the Grand Master of the English Craft, Lord Lovel (afterwards Lord Leicester) summoned an emergency Lodge to be held at Houghton Hall Norfolk the country seat of Robert Walpole, Earl of Oxford [*sic.*, should be Orford] where the Duke was raised to the Degree of M.M. together with Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle."

After referring to the official toast in his honour and to the London Lodge existing as early as 1732 and bearing the Duke's name, Bro. Malczovitch proceeds thus:—

> "The eminent importance of Francis's initiation consisted not so much in great personal activity but in the fact of his being the *very first prince* on the Continent who joined the order—his example being soon followed by a number of august personages—as well as in the powerful protection he ever gave the Order and several members of it against Romish, especially Jesuit attacks and intrigues."

Bro. Malczovitch appears to have taken his statement of facts as to the conferring of the three Degrees from Anderson's 1738 *Constitutions*. His paper above referred to gives a valuable and interesting account of the Masonic actions of the Duke.

Our Brother's paper omits the statement on page 194 of the 1738 *Constitutions*, under the heading: III. Deputations sent beyond Sea:— "Lovel Grand Master granted one to noble Brother Chesterfield Lord Ambassador "at the Hague, for holding a Lodge there, that made his Royal Highness Francis "Duke of Lorrain (now Grand Duke of Tuscany) an Enter'd Prentice and "Fellow Craft."

This can hardly have come to Bro. Daynes's notice or he would probably have referred to it when discussing the absence of any record of the Deputation having ever been granted to Dr. Desaguliers. It would seem that the Deputation was actually granted to Lord Chesterfield. It is only natural that so high a dignitary should be the actual consignee of the Deputation. The other parties would merely be at his disposal for performing the work.

This entry on page 194 is important because it shows that the 1738 *Constitutions* twice record the fact that by virtue of that Deputation the Duke was made "an Enter'd Prentice and Fellow Craft." Thus Bro. Daynes has to account twice (and not once only) for the aforesaid two degrees being specified.

The Deputation referred to by Bro. Daynes as granted to Bro. John Phillips is also recorded in page 194 of the 1738 *Constitutions* as "Another to Capt. John Phillips to be Provincial G.M. of Russia."

After all, we must not look upon Dr. Anderson as being solely responsible for statements made in the 1738 Edition. Page 199 expressly states that the Manuscript was submitted to some former Grand Officers particularly our noble Brother Richmond and our Brothers Desaguliers, Cowper, Payne, and others who, after making some Corrections, have signified their approbation.

The then present Grand Officers had also review'd and corrected it and declared their approbation of it on 25 Jan. 173$\frac{7}{8}$.

Finally the approbation is signed by

Darnley, Grand Master.
John Ward, Deputy Grand Master.
Robert Lawley } Grand
William Graeme } Wardens.

John Revis,
Secretary.

It is important to note that Desaguliers is named as one of those who, after making Corrections, approved the Manuscript.

Consequently, in the absence of more convincing proof than Bro. Daynes gives us, we are bound to assume that Desaguliers joins with Anderson in affirming that the ceremonies performed at the Hague were those of initiation and passing only. There is no other transaction recorded in the 1738 Book which Desaguliers is likely to have looked at with closer scrutiny.

Desaguliers would best know what functions he was actually a party to at the Hague, and if we were to indulge ourselves in a spasm of conjecture we might imagine it possible that the Ambassador Lord Chesterfield and his acolytes purposely refrained from proceeding to the third degree so that something Masonic might be left to be done when the Duke visited England. Why should there be such a tremendous hurry about it? What possible justification is there for Bro. Daynes's allegation that the Duke would not "have waited, or been "allowed to wait, until he visited Houghton Hall about three weeks after he "arrived, before he received the Degree of a Master Mason"?

Royal personages have a way of framing their own procedure, and it is not safe to speak of him as not being allowed to wait. If the third degree was in fact in process of formation, that might very well be a good reason for deferring the degree until its form had been to some extent settled, and there does not seem any good reason for conferring it in the dingy atmosphere of a London tavern when it could be done in the brilliant environment of a Nobleman's mansion.

Bro. Daynes confesses that he appears as champion of Bro. Thomas Johnson, and that he is trying if possible to remove the slur cast on our Worshipful Bro. Thomas Johnson and to uphold the veracity of his statements. He seems to have little regard for any slurs cast upon Bro. James Anderson, and, indeed, it now seems to be quite fashionable to treat the last-named Brother with an almost contemptuous scorn, and if we substitute the name Anderson for Cæsar we might use Mark Antony's words (Julius Cæsar, Act III., Scene II.) and say: "But yesterday the word of Cæsar might Have stood against the world; now *lies* he there And none so poor to do him reverence."

I do not know who the unhappy person is who has cast a slur upon W.Bro. Johnson or his veracity. Has anyone ever done so? Bro. Daynes says that if Anderson's account is to be accepted then we have no alternative but to stigmatise the Lodge account as a deliberate concoction of falsehoods. I am not convinced that this is the case.

It is by no means clear that the statement of Bro. Johnson on page 1 of the Maid's Head Minute Book clashes with any or either of the statements made in the 1738 Book. It is quite easy to read Bro. Johnson's statement first and then to follow with Bro. Anderson's. Bro. Johnson records that the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Essex, Major-General Churchill and Lord Lovel's

Chaplain were made Masons by the R.W. Thomas Johnson, the Master of the Maid's Head Lodge. That is a very proper (although a belated and undated) record to make of a transaction which did the Master and his Lodge such credit. It is rightly confined to the work he himself did.

All that Anderson affirms is that Grand Master Lovel "made Brother Lorrain and Brother Thomas Pelham Duke of Newcastle *Master* Masons."

Anderson's theme has to do with Brother Lorrain, and, therefore, he says little or nothing of the other events of the same day. It is quite usual, even in these days, for a Lodge meeting to be held at which one Master initiates or passes and another Master performs the ceremony of raising. It seems perfectly natural that the Grand Master should reserve to himself the privilege of raising so dignified a person as the Duke of Lorraine, and there is nothing incongruous that he should at the same time confer the same degree upon the Duke of Newcastle, even though that worthy Brother had only been made a Mason earlier in the same day.

Bro. Gould knew of the Maid's Head record, and yet he does not suggest that it clashed with Anderson's record, and it, therefore, seems that Bro. Daynes's anxiety in respect of Bro. Johnson was not really called for. Bro. Johnson, we are told, made the entry in 1744 or 1745. Is it necessary for us to assume that he had not seen or heard of the statement in the 1738 Book? It is the only *Book of Constitutions* rcommended to the Free and Accepted Masons, and it would have been very natural for Bro. Johnson to see, or for some kind friend to tell him of, the record of the Houghton transactions. If he had access to the Book, and had read it, he would very naturally think: "Yes, it is true that Lord Lovel raised the Duke of Lorraine and the Duke of Newcastle, but I had the privilege of making the Duke of Newcastle and some others to be Masons on the same occasion." Later on he would make the record now before us, but would see no reason for correcting Dr. Anderson's statement of another transaction which had received official sanction and certainly does not clash with his own account. If he had seen any discrepancy he could hardly have failed (being human) to assert his own accuracy and denounce the other record. His own record, however, is evidently written in blissful unconsciousness of there being any slur on his character or impeachment of his veracity.

Furthermore, the 1738 *Constitutions* were published when several of the principal parties to the Houghton episode were still living, and it is very singular that from that day until Bro. Daynes chivalrously, but perhaps unnecessarily, took up the cudgels as Champion for Bro. Johnson no one has ever questioned Anderson's record of such an important Masonic transaction. Anderson was present at the Quarterly Communication on 3rd December, 1731, and would have been easily able to obtain full particulars of the actual transaction which would have been a matter of notoriety at the time. He had also attended Grand Lodge on 24th June, 1731.

In the circumstances it is not necessary to follow Bro. Daynes in his suggestions as to the way in which Anderson adapted his record. It is sufficient to point out that the entries as to the Prince of Wales were much more likely to be copied from the Lorraine entries than the other way. "Frideric" Prince of Wales was only made a Mason in November, 1737, and yet, as our Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins pointed out in his article on that Brother (*A.Q.C.*, vol. xxix., p. 328), the 1738 *Constitutions* say: "And EVER SINCE, both in the Grand Lodge and in particular Lodges the Fraternity joyfully remember his Royal Highness and his Son, in the proper Manner." The words "ever since," though true, generally indicate a longer period than the interval between November, 1737, and the printing of the 1738 *Constitutions*.

Bro. G. W. G. BARNARD *writes*:—

I have had the privilege of reading a Proof of Bro. Daynes's Paper. When the Minute Book referred to was handed over to the Provincial Grand

Lodge of Norfolk in 1894 I was Provincial Grand Secretary, and the Book was left in my custody. From an examination of it I then made I formed the opinion by a comparison of the handwriting of the entry on page 1 and the handwriting of the Minutes during the period he was Secretary of the Lodge that the entry was in the handwriting of Bro. Thomas Johnson, and that opinion has been confirmed by a recent inspection. It should be borne in mind that at the time the entry was written the 1st Sederunt Book of the Lodge must have been in existence and accessible to the Members. It is, therefore, very improbable that the writer would have made any statement which could at once have been proved, by a reference to the Minutes, to be false or inaccurate. The entry should, in my opinion, be accepted as first hand evidence of what took place at the Lodge at Houghton Hall from one who was not only present, but himself took the leading part in the ceremony. But need we necessarily assume that either Johnson's or Anderson's account of what took place is untrue? Each may be incomplete. Admitting that both refer to the same occasion, may not Bro. Thomas Johnson have made the Brethren he names Masons, and may not the Grand Master himself have conferred on the Duke of Lorraine and the Duke of Newcastle the Master Mason's Degree? Johnson records only what he did. Anderson records only what the Grand Master did. Thus the two accounts may be reconciled and the truth of each vindicated.

Bro. J. E. S. TUCKETT *writes*:—

The sole authority for the alleged Initiation and Passing of the Duke of Lorraine at the Hague at some time in the early summer of 1731 is the statement in the 1738 *Book of Constitutions*. It is a little difficult to know when it is permitted to believe Dr. Anderson, and when to do so is to invite censure for a lack of critical judgment. There is nothing in the Minutes of Grand Lodge to confirm the story, no record of a Deputation for the purpose indicated, no evidence that Desaguliers and the Duke were at the Hague at the same date in 1731, and apparently no certainty that the Duke visited that place at all during his tour. The words "now Grand Duke of Tuscany" show that the paragraph was written in July, 1737, or later, and Bro. Daynes supplies good reasons for believing the whole entry to be an interpolation, taking a later one of 1737 as a model. In the face of all this it is strange that the Hague story is retained at all, and it is permissible to examine whether such actual facts as are beyond dispute can be explained if it is rejected.

There is no doubt that a Masonic Lodge, attended by the Duke of Lorraine, was held at Houghton Hall on some day between November 3rd and November 12th, 1731, but concerning the details there are three conflicting accounts. If we reject the Andersonian version—not only the second paragraph of the interpolation but the whole of it—there remain the entry in the *Maid's Head Lodge Book* and the notice in *The Norwich Gazette*. These are in agreement to the extent that in neither is the Duke represented as a candidate. Bro. Daynes is no doubt quite right in thinking that had the nation's honoured guest figured in that capacity so interesting and important a piece of news would have been recorded by the journalist. But if not a candidate the Duke must have been Initiated before he set out on his visit to Houghton Hall.

There is another and independent story concerning the Initiation to which attention is now drawn—apparently for the first time. Amongst the eighteenth century Continental Masonic and *quasi*-Masonic publications there is one which has barely been noticed by English-speaking students. It is:—*Noblesse | des | Francs-Maçons | ou | Institution de leur Société avant le | Deluge Universel, & son renouvelle | ment après le Deluge. | Poeme. | Par Un Profane. | A Francfort sur le Mein | Chez Jean Auguste Raspe, | MDCCLVI.* It is an octavo with an *Avis Du Libraire* (1 p., verso blank), an *Argument* (4 pp.), and 110 pp. of text, and it is somewhat scarce. According to Bro. Woodford, in *Kenning's*

Cyclopædia of Freemasonry (1878), the author was 'M. Jarrique,' of whom nothing is known, but that he was really a 'profane' is very unlikely. In a footnote on p. 93 the author informs us that:—

> L'Empereur François I., alors Duc de Lorraine, fut reçu Franc-Maçon à Londres, avec le feu Prince de Galles, & le feu Prince de Nassau, devenu depuis Statouder des Provinces-Unies.

At the date of publication, 1756, the Emperor Francis I. (*i.e.*, the Duke of Lorraine) had been reigning eleven years and had nine more years to live. William Charles Henry, Prince of Orange-Nassau, married (14th March, 1734) Anne, Princess Royal of England, eldest daughter of K. George II., and sister to Frederick, Prince of Wales. Whether he was in England in 1731 I am unable to say, and, of course, the point is an important one affecting the credit to be attached to the 'Note.' He became Statdtholder of the United Provinces on 3rd May, 1747, and and died 22nd October, 1751. This story represents what was clearly the popular belief on the Continent, published during the lifetime of one of the rulers concerned, at his Coronation City and seat of his Imperial Diet, and on the borders of the principality of the other one and only five years after his decease.

As was natural throughout the visit of the future Emperor, he was intimately associated with the Prince of Wales and spent much of the time in his company. The researches of Bro. Daynes have established this fact and the evidence is set out in his paper. The very precise terms of the announcement in *The Daily Post* of 4th December, 1731, that ". . . the Duke of Lorraine, the Prince of Wales, and several of the Nobility were at a Lodge of Free-masons at the Devil Tavern . . ." suggest as the most natural explanation that the persons indicated (including the Prince) were Freemasons and present as such. Our Wor. Master has shown that the meeting was a Q.C. of Grand Lodge, held on Friday, 3rd December, but Bro. Daynes makes it clear that the two Royal Princes attended the Dinner but did not remain for the actual business of the Q.C. which followed. If the movements of the Duke be followed day by day it will be found that there are several evenings unaccounted for between his arrival in London and his visit to Houghton Hall, and during any of these the Duke and the Prince MAY have received the Degrees of Freemasonry together. The strained relations (to put the case very mildly indeed) which existed between the King and the Heir-Apparent at this time are notorious, and the chances are that, IF the Prince took this step, he did so in defiance of his father's expressed command. That he did so is pure conjecture, but it affords a plausible explanation of the whole mystery. The entry in the 1738 *Book of Constitutions* by Anderson, concerning the 'occasional' Lodges at Kew in 1737, may be another of his flights of fancy. It is, however, far more probable that the ceremonies were conferred in 1737 as stated, in order to regularise what was previously informal and invalid as lacking the necessary Royal assent, this having been in the meantime obtained. The expression 'in the usual Manner introduced' and the sentence 'And ever since . . . in the proper Manner' would be specially appropriate if the Prince had previously passed through a Masonic experience which had perforce to be 'officially' ignored.

Our thanks are due to Bro. Daynes for a very interesting and valuable paper, to be followed, we will hope, by many others from the same pen.

Bro. GILBERT W. DAYNES *writes* as follows, in reply:—

I am deeply sensible of the kindness extended to me by the Members of the Lodge on the occasion of my maiden effort, and return them my grateful thanks for the very generous vote of thanks which was accorded to me at that Meeting.

I appreciate sincerely the fraternal manner in which Bro. Tuckett and Bro. Lepper have commented upon my researches. I quite agree with Bro. Lepper that it is open to doubt whether the initiation of the Duke of Lorraine took place at the Hague in May or June, 1731, or later in the year when the Duke was on his way to England. The objection, however, to the date being in the Autum of 1731 seems to be, that the probabilities are that if the Duke was on his way to England he would have waited until he had reached that Country, unless, of course, it was done on the spur of the moment because that great Degree giver—Dr. J. T. Desaguliers—was at the Hague when the Duke was there. The dates of the visits of Dr. Desaguliers to the Netherlands should be capable of ascertainment, and I hope that someone, when searching the Newspaper files for 1731, may find evidence from which the probable date of the Duke's Initiation may be determined. The Continental account, referred to by Bro. Tuckett, is very interesting, and I hope that some of the features presented may be followed up so as to test its trustworthiness. Since writing my Paper, Bro. Songhurst has called my attention to a History of Freemasonry in Nancy (practically the whole of Lorraine) in which the writer gives some particulars of the initiation at the Hague. This writer accepts, without question, the particulars given by Thory in *Acta Latomorum*, which is as follows:—

> "C'est en cette annee qu'on trouve les premières traces de l'introduction de la Maçonnerie dans les Provinces-Unies des Pays-Bas.
>
> Une grande Assemblée de Maçons se réunit à la Haye sous la présidence de Philippe Stanhope, comte de Chesterfield, ambassadeur d'Angleterre. L'écuyer Strickland remplissait les fonctions de deputé, et MM. Benjamin Hadley et Guill. Ducth celles de premier et second Gardiens. On y reçoit François, duc de Lorraine, grand duc de Toscane, depuis empereur d'Allemagne."

There is also another version, differing somewhat from those already quoted, which appeared in *The Complete Freemason, or Multa Paucis for Lovers of Secrets* (1763-64). This account appears after the account of the Annual Assembly of 1731, and runs thus:—

> "The noble Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, was made a Free-Mason.
>
> Our noble Brother was soon after sent to the Hague, in the Quality of Lord Ambassador to the States of Holland, where he came intimately acquainted with his Royal Highness Francis, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who was then upon his Travels; and being desirous to be made a Free-Mason, our Brother Chesterfield sent for a Deputation from England for that purpose.
>
> Our Royal Brother came afterwards to England, when Grand Master Lovell summoned a private Lodge at Houghton Hall, in Norfolk, and advanced the Duke of Newcastle and Francis Grand Duke of Tuscany, to the high Degree of Master Masons."

This Account, however, except as to the part taken by Lord Chesterfield, bears the impress of Anderson, and cannot, I think, be taken as corroborative evidence of the former's statement in the *Constitutions* of 1738. Since preparing my Paper I have had the opportunity of reading *Masonry Farther Dissected*, which was printed and published in London, in 1738. In a note, commenting upon a statement that the Grand Master presides in a Lodge, the writer says:—

> "Here in England each Lodge has its respective Master and Wardens. The English Right Worshipfull Grand-Master is scarce ever at the Trouble of Makings, except when the Brother be made, is a Person of very eminent Degree, as Brother LORRAIN, now Grand-Duke of Tuscany, or such like Grandees."

In an Appendix, "The Free-Masons Reception in Foreign Parts," the writer has copied a paragraph from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1737, (vol vii., p. 453), which commences, "From Rome July 18." In this the following sentence occurs:—

> "As his Highness (the Grand Duke of Tuscany) is since dead, and the Duke of Lorrain, who was made a Free-Mason in England, is to succeed, this prosecution may not go far."

The earlier note may have been inspired by the last quoted sentence, but it does show that, at that date—1737-1738—some thought that the Duke was initiated in England, and not at the Hague as stated by Anderson.

Bros. Barnard, Bullamore and Williams suggest that there were two distinct ceremonies at Houghton Hall. It is, of course, possible that this suggestion is correct, but it seems to me that the probabilities are against this theory. I agree with Bro. Tuckett that if the Duke of Lorraine had received the Degree of Master Mason at Houghton it must have leaked out and some notice been taken of it in the contemporary newspapers. I think it far more probable that the Duke of Lorraine, if he had not received all the then worked Degrees prior to his visit to Sir Robert Walpole, never did receive them, or, at all events, did not receive them until after he had left our shores in December, 1731. Bro. Baxter appears to share this view.

Bro. Baxter thinks that the account of the Meeting of the Maid's Head Lodge at Houghton "should have been entered in a previous Minute Book." Undoubtedly it was, and a reference to Bro. Johnson's account at the beginning of the second Minute Book clearly shows that he was extracting data from "ye first sederunt book." The account in question is simply an epitome of the most important events in the early life of the Lodge, to preface the Minute Book which commenced on December 27th, 1743. I can see no valid reason why that account should not be admitted as first hand evidence, an opinion which I am glad to note is shared by Bros. Barnard and Lepper, both Brethren learned in the Law.

Bro. Williams has commented at some length upon my theories, but—let me confess it—has not shaken my convictions. Some of his suggestions are certainly ingenious, but his ingenuity is not to me convincing, and does not prove his case. I think Bro. Bradley must have been quoting from Findel's *History of Freemasonry*, Second Revised English Edition, 1871. Findel, following Anderson, refers to the initiation of the Duke in the following terms:—

> "When Lord Lovel, afterwards Earl of Leicester, was installed Grand Master on the 27th of March, the Fraternity received a mark of distinction, between the 14th of May and the 24th of June, 1731, which in its after-effects was of immense service in causing the greater spread of the Association, as well as for the greater esteem which in consequence was universally vouchsafed to it, viz.: the initiation of his Royal Highness Francis, Duke of Lorraine, afterwards Grand Duke of Tuscany and Emperor of Germany, which took place at the Hague, by a deputation from the English Grand Lodge, amongst them Desaguliers."

At a later part of his Book, when dealing with Freemasonry in Germany, Findel has the following paragraph:—

> "What the protection of Frederick the Great had been for Freemasonry in Prussia, was in like manner secured in Austria by the favour of the Emperor Francis I. Born December 8, 1708, he was in 1731, when Duke of Lothringen, first made an Apprentice and then a Fellow, at the Hague, the Duke of Chesterfield in the Chair, and afterwards became Master, in London, under the name of 'Brother Lothringen!'"

I am afraid, therefore, we must dismiss the probability of an additional narrative, the German rendering of Lorraine only showing the nationality of the Author.

Again, Bro. Williams quotes at length the statement made by Bro. Lad. de Malczovich in vol. iv. of *A.Q.C.* The Paper in which the account occurs was well known to me, but as the statement was obviously copied from Anderson it seemed valueless and not worth quoting when original sources were available.

Bro. Williams comments upon my omitting the statement by Anderson, on page 194 of the 2nd Edition of the *Book of Constitutions.* I certainly might have alluded to it, but it would only have been to have pointed out that it was not of the slightest value as corroborative evidence. To quote Anderson in support of Anderson does not strengthen or confirm the original statement by that Author, and I cannot, therefore, agree that I have to account twice for the two Degrees being specified by Anderson. It is merely Anderson confirming himself. Grand Lodge Minutes do not refer in any way to the supposed Deputation to Dr. Desaguliers, as it does to Deputations given in several other cases. I think it will be found that whenever James Anderson narrates events not referred to in the Grand Lodge Minutes he is inaccurate. Anderson's ingenious and not to say complicated mind would be quite equal to manufacturing evidence when he wanted it, as he did when he tampered with the records in order to bolster up his claim to be a Past Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge, a position to which there is very strong grounds for assuming he was never properly appointed.

Bro. Williams appears as the champion of Anderson's absolute veracity, and in so doing is not, in my opinion, so critically sound as I should have expected. From a careful comparison between Grand Lodge Minutes and Anderson it is clear that the groundwork of his historical portion 1723 to 1738 was taken from the Grand Lodge Minutes. The Number of Lodges stated to be present at Quarterly Communications, the Grand Master shown as being present, the omission of certain Quarterly Communications which we know from outside sources to have been omitted from Grand Lodge Minutes, as well as other minor points too numerous to mention, confirm my assertion. But Anderson also added to the Grand Lodge Minutes from other sources, or, perhaps, from his own imagination, when it suited his purpose. We know that he could not even transcribe correctly, and Regulations passed in Grand Lodge suffer alteration at his hands before insertion in the *Book of Constitutions.*

It is quite true that the Grand Lodge Minutes state that Anderson's 2nd Edition, with several additions and Amendments, were perused, and after some alterations "approved off by several Grand Officers," but no names are mentioned. This may have referred more particularly to the Regulations, and not to the Historical portions, which from 1723 onwards would, upon a cursory glance, appear as taken from the Grand Lodge Minutes. It may well be, as I have suggested in my Paper, that if Dr. Desaguliers was one of those perusing the *Book of Constitutions*, he made, when doing so, the interpolations I have indicated, and that Anderson afterwards altered it. It must be remembered that the Grand Officers were appointed on the 24th February, 1735, and over three years elapsed before the Book was published. Some little time also occurred between the date of final approval and the publication, which appears to have been early in 1739. If we believe that the meeting did take place at the Hague, and in May or June, 1731, then the conjectures of Bro. Williams that the third Degree was left over until the Duke visited England appear to be without foundation, because at that date the Duke's visit to England had according to contemporary newspaper reports been given in error. Brother Anderson's proved inaccuracies do not entitle him to be believed as a matter of course, as Bro. Williams seems to suggest.

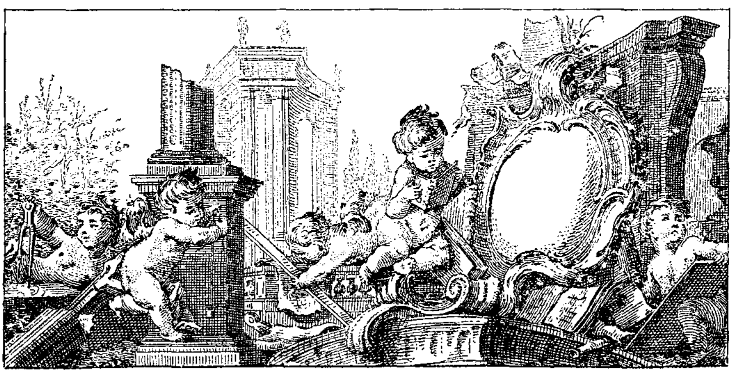
In passing from Anderson I would draw attention to the Introduction, by Bro. Hughan, to the Lodge Reprint of Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1738 (*Q.C.A.*, vol. vii.), in which he states:—

"Bro. W. H. Rylands has directed my attention to the leaf pp. 129-30, which was substituted for one cancelled in consequence of its errors. I had not noticed it, neither has anyone else to my knowledge. In his copy, curiously enough, he found, attached to the cover, the central part of the confiscated leaf, which shows some of the errors, such as 'STEPHEN,' instead of 'FRANCIS, Duke of Lorrain,' and also some other mistakes."

Bro. Williams refers to the Record of the Maid's Head Lodge as "belated and undated." Undated, perhaps, but not belated, in the sense that there had been no previous record of the event. The Records, as I have already stated, plainly show that the account was taken from an earlier Minute Book.

Bro. Williams' reference to the manner in which degrees are conferred to-day seems quite beside the point; and is no criterion whatever as to what happened nearly 200 years ago. There is nothing to show that the Grand Master, Lord Lovell, was capable of performing the ceremony of the Third Degree, which Bro. Williams agrees may have been in a transitory state.

As may be gathered from my reply, I have not been able to carry my evidence much further since my Paper was read, and must, therefore, leave the verdict in the hands of time. Perhaps, at some future date, further facts may be unearthed, which will give us the truth. That, after all, is the material point, whether it substantiates or destroys my theories. Either way, the result would not be a matter of supreme importance to the Craft; but, nevertheless, the main facts at present known, do form an interesting sidelight upon Freemasonry of that period, and accordingly I trust that the recital of them has not been entirely valueless.



A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF FREEMASONRY
in the former Danish West Indian Islands, especially the History of the Danish Lodges in St. Croix & St. Thomas at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century gathered from the Archives of the Grand Lodge of Denmark

By

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and

translated

By

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P.Z. Zetland Chapter No. 356.

Together with some Notes by Bro. Knud-Hansen
on the Harmonic Lodge No. 356;
and on Bro. Isaac Lindo,
Past Senior Grand Warden;
Past Master Grand Master's Lodge No. 1, London;
Past Master Harmonic Lodge No. 356,
St. Thomas, West Indies.

THE Harmonic Lodge No. 356 is a tiny little Lodge in a wee little Island, but still a growing leaf on the evergreen tree of Freemasonry.

Much has changed with us. We have seen our island sold, sold with its homes where Brethren lived, sold with its graves where Brethren sleep. But our Lodge is still here, true and strong and faithful, drinking its life from the very fountain-head of Freemasonry. And just because this Lodge means so very much to us, it has been more than a mere pleasure to me to translate from the Danish, a language now read by so very few here, this History of the foundation work done by the Brethren of those ancient Danish West Indian Lodges.

The author may be wrong in his belief that the Harmonic was founded on the ruins of the old "St. Thomas to Unity," but I have the comforting belief that it was in consequence of the work of the old Danish Lodge that the ground was so well prepared, and that the Harmonic was born strong enough to reach its present age of 102 years, still remaining strong.

I beg to thank W.Bro. John N. Lightbourn for his help and advice.

K-H.

S-T. C-R-O-I-X.

The first trace of Freemasonry in the former Danish West Indies, St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John, points towards England. We learn from *Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei* (3rd Edition, Volume ii., page 297) that the Grand Lodge of England in the year 1756 founded a Lodge in St. Croix (probably in Christiansted). We find the same in Bro. R. F. Gould's *History of Freemasonry* (Volume iii., page 362), where it is stated that the above-mentioned Lodge in the Grand Lodge Register for 1756 has the No. 224, but ten years later the number was 216. According to the same source this Lodge later on got the name "St. George Lodge" and is found in the Register up to 1814, but most likely ceased to work about the year 1788 after having been under the Danish Grand Lodge since 1776. Probably it is this Lodge that we find mentioned a few years after the foundation of the Danish Lodge in Christiansted.

Gould also says that the Grand Lodge of England in the year 1777 installed John Ryan as Provincial Grand-Master for St. Croix, without any other Lodge being founded there. We will later on hear about this Brother.

It would seem quite probable that at least some of the Brethren who formed part of the Danish Lodge at its foundation in 1776, belonged to or had belonged to, the local English Lodge. But it is certain that the W.M. of this new Danish Lodge, Bro. Christian Ewald, was initiated in Copenhagen the 15th of February, 1773, in Lodge "ZOROBABEL TIL NORDSTJERNEN" (Zorobabel to the Northstar). He is described as a lieutenant.

We do not know who conceived the idea of founding a Lodge in Christiansted under the Danish Constitution, but possibly it was Ewald, who on behalf of the Brethren took the preliminary steps, and these were made in 1775. He eventually through his Mother-Lodge "Zorobabel to the Northstar," in Copenhagen, petitioned to found a Daughter Lodge under said Mother-Lodge and with the name "TIL DET HELLIGE KORS" (To the Holy Cross).

A Minute-Book for the meetings of the Directorium in Copenhagen has on the order of the day for November 16, 1775: "To write to Prov. Grandmaster and Protector Prince Carl of Hessen concerning a request of August 12, 1775, for a Lodge Charter for St. Croix, and the expenses in connection with same." This is the first time this Lodge is mentioned in said Minute-Book.

The Charter, Instructions, Rituals and possibly a list of officers approved by the Lodge were then despatched from Copenhagen. At the same time certain written guarantees were demanded from the W.M. and the Founders of the Lodge. This is evident from two declarations still in existence, written in German and dated August 27th, 5776.

The first one is from Ewald as W.M. of the new founded Daughter-Lodge: "Til det hellige Kors" ("To the Holy Cross"). He declares under oath that he will fulfil his obligations particularly towards the "Store Skotte Loge" in Copenhagen (Scottish Grand Lodge) and will rule in accordance with his Charter, instructions and prescriptions. It is a personal declaration from Ewald, but is also signed by the two Wardens, Brothers Charisius and Röring.

The second declaration is the so-called Submission-Act in which the Brethren of "Til det hellige Kors" promise the Most W. Provincial for the 7th Province (North Germany and Denmark) and all the German Masons, and their special superior, the Supreme Scottish Grand Lodge in Copenhagen, obedience, secrecy, and not to join any secret society be it for or against Freemasonry, and if already members of any such, then to sever all connection with it. This declaration is signed by F. A. Charisius, 1st Surv.; Röring, 2nd Surv.; Christian F. Kipnasse, Secretary; A. C. Hoy, Treasurer; P. C. van Beverhoudt; Angell; John Ryan; and J. Hartmann, Serving Brother. (See *Personalia*).

According to this the Lodge seems to have been founded in 1776, and the nine above-mentioned Brethren to have been the founders, as we find the Lodge further mentioned in the Minute-Book, for the meeting of March 31, 1776:

As the Charter for the Lodge "Til det hellige Kors" in the West Indian island St. Croix, signed by the G.M. and Protector, has been received giving permission to work in the three first degrees of Freemasonry, be it resolved to give the M.W. Bro. Malleville, Knight of the Inner Order of the Rite of the Strict Observance, Commandant in St. Thomas, supervision of said Lodge, and to give the W.M. of that Lodge, Bro. Ewald, the general instructions for a W.M. and special instructions for him and his Lodge as a Daughter-Lodge of this Lodge, Zorobabel til Nordstjernen.

In the same Minute-Book for the meeting of April 16, 1776, both the general and the special instructions for Bro. Ewald were read and approved, and the Charter was signed and the large seal of the Lodge attached. It was resolved to send Bro. Ewald a Lodge-device similar to the one of Z.·.to.·.N.·.*, with the difference, however, that the letter Z in the centre to be replaced by a cross. There were also to be sent to him a hymnbook and the Almanac for the year to enable him to give those members of his Lodge who intended to travel, a list of all genuine Lodges. Further Kansler (G.S.) was requested to make a transcript of the obligation which Bro. Ewald and his two Wardens would have to sign and to return the original to the Mother-Lodge.

The hymn-book is most likely the big hymn-book for "Zorobabel" printed the same year. The hymns were in German and accompanied by the music. The Almanac is "Almanach oder taschenbuch für die Brüder Freymaurer der vereinigten Deutschen Logen": It is the Handbook for Lodges under the system of Strict Observance. This Almanac was edited in the years 1776 to 1779 inclusive, by Bro. I. I. C. Bode and contained amongst other matter a list of all Lodges belonging to said system, and some songs with music. In the edition for the year 1778 we find the Lodge in St. Croix, but no doubt by mistake on the part of the Copenhagen Directorium, Major Malleville is mentioned as the W.M. Ewald feels sore and writes the Directorium, and in the Handbook for 1779 we find Ewald mentioned as W.M.

From a Cashbook still existing for the Scottish Grand Lodge in Copenhagen we learn that the Charter-fee was 4 Species-Ducater, the copy of the Submission-Act, Rituals, etc., 4 Rd. 68 sk., the Lodge-device 2 Rd., and the Almanac 80 sk.

There does not exist any Minute-Book of initiations, meetings or other work of the Lodge in St. Croix, but the work was most likely conducted in German, following the custom at that time prevailing in Denmark when the rituals used were those of the Strict Observance system. This system was introduced in Denmark in 1765. The Grand Master was the well-known Karl Gotthelf, Reichfreiherr von Hund, born in Manua in the year 1722, and died in Meiningen on the 8th of November, 1776.

In the Minute-Book for the Directorium meetings in Copenhagen (the so-called Prefecturet "Binin") we read that at the meeting of December 27th same year it was resolved to notify the Lodge in St. Croix officially of the death of the G.M.

The first existing sign of life from the Lodge in St. Croix is a letter from Ewald, written in French, to a Brother in Copenhagen, whose name is not mentioned, but it was most likely the W.M. of the Mother-Lodge Zorobabel. This letter is dated June 19th, 1778. Ewald asks here to be given the last degrees of the Order as a token of the satisfaction expressed by having him as W.M., and at all events to entitle him to give the fourth degree, "Skottegraden" (Scottish degree). He mentions that Brother Malleville, who has visited his Lodge and been present at the initiation of Lieutenant Harboe, has promised to write Zorobabel to that effect. The reason for his desire to have the Scottish degree introduced in St. Croix is that several of the younger Brethren of the Lodge have obtained this degree on their visits at Copenhagen; and that the remainder of the Brethren complain because they cannot get that degree in their own Lodge and that this may in the end weaken their interest in their Lodge. Ewald has recommended patience, and for the present those Brethren have

ceased to give trouble, but this is likely to be for a time only. His desire to obtain the last degrees is solely because of his interest for the cause and because he thinks it will strengthen his position. At the same time Ewald states that he has remitted 10 Rd. as dispensation-fee for Brothers Holstein and Bradt, who have been passed before the normal time. He directs attention to the fact that it has been forgotten to send him the "Parole" for the year, and ends by mentioning that he got married in the month of November. In a post-script he states that Brother Angell (one of the founders of the Lodge) for certain reasons was expelled from the Lodge.

It seems that, about the same time, another Brother in St. Croix, Brother Oxholm, had written to the Directorium in Copenhagen, as the Minute-Book for the meeting of September 6th, 1779, states that a Brother living in the West Indies has petitioned for the founding of a West Indian Scottish Lodge there, with himself as W.M., and at the same time the said Brother had directed attention to the necessity of having an ordinary Lodge in *St. Thomas.* The first item the Directorium could not sanction as it would mean a slight on the W.M. Ewald whose Lodge had worked for a considerable time. Any decision on the second item was postponed.

At the following meeting, October 25th of same year, a member of the Directorium raised a discussion on what ought to be done with regard to the petitions from the Danish Brethren in the West Indies, Ewald and Oxholm, concerning establishing a Scottish Lodge in St. Croix and a Lodge in St. Thomas. It was resolved to notify Brother Ewald that at the present time on account of overwhelming obstacles it was impossible to advance him to the fourth degree, and consequently it was not possible to elevate his Lodge to a Scottish Lodge. He should warn his Brethren against affiliating with other Lodges and show them a letter of admonition from the Directorium which would be sent him. Brother Oxholm was to be answered that if a Scottish Lodge was established in St. Croix, then Brother Ewald and not he would be the W.M.

With regard to the establishing of a Lodge in St. Thomas, Brother Oxholm would please communicate with Brother Malleville and leave it to him to decide if the establishing of a Lodge there would be of use and possible, and that the Directorium would write Brother Malleville on the same matter and ask his opinion. The G.S. read next a sketch of a letter of admonition which was approved after some rather hard passages had been discussed and softened.

At meetings of the 12th and 29th of November of the same year the said documents as well as a private letter from the G.S. to Brother Ewald were sanctioned and signed.

It has not been possible to find out if Brother Malleville sent any answer, but the question of establishing a Lodge in St. Thomas was probably postponed, as the first Danish Lodge in St. Thomas was constituted December 3rd, 1798.

Ewald obtained the higher degrees on a trip to Europe in 1783. (See *Personalia.*) During a stay in Copenhagen on this same trip he succeeded in getting his Lodge promoted to a Mother-Lodge, and obtained thereby the right to give the Scottish Degree. About this we will learn later.

Under April 29th, 1780, King Christian the VII. signed a rescript to the leaders of the Freemasons in Denmark directing that never and nowhere in any Danish land or possession, should the Freemasons recognize a foreign Prince of royal blood as Grand Master or give any such any authority or influence over the Order.

It was a known fact that Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick had a certain influence over Lodges in the Danish lands and possessions (Duke Ferdinand had succeeded von Hund as Grand Master in the System of the Strict Observance), but when he retired no Lodge was to be permitted to allow any foreigner, be he Prince of royal blood or not, to have any authority over any Lodge without first having petitioned therefor and obtained royal permission.

This rescript was renewed and made wider in another royal document of 2nd November, 1792, wherein Prince Carl of Hessen (Danish Field Marshal) was recognized as Grand Master, and it was ruled: That no Lodge must be

held in any of Our lands or possessions without being in connection with and under the direction of the Masonic Society adopted in Our lands and possessions.

As will be seen later, the rescript of 1780 gave Brother Ewald occasion to refuse to the English Lodge in Christiansted, St. George Lodge No. 216, the right to work. Ewald must have taken this step convinced that it was against said rescript to allow a Lodge in the Danish lands and possessions to work under the Grand Master of England, at that time the Duke of Cumberland. At the same time he promised to try to obtain constitution for the Lodge from the Directorium in Copenhagen. This can be gathered from the following communications from Ewald to Copenhagen:—

1. A petition in German of October 19, 1784 to the W.M. and officers of the Mother Lodge Zorobabel that a Charter be given the English Lodge from the Scottish Grand Lodge in Copenhagen. This document was signed by Ewald, W.M., L. Ebbesen, S.W., I. P. Brown, J.W.

2. The above document is accompanied by a letter, written in English, September 23, 5784 A.L. from the English Lodge to the W.M., officers and members of the Lodge "Til det hellige Kors" ("To the Holy Cross") communicating the desire of the English Lodge for a constitution from Copenhagen. The signatories are Walter Burke, Sen., W. I. Godman and L. Boyle.

3. These official letters are accompanied by a letter written in Danish from Ewald to a Brother in Copenhagen (likely the Representative of the Lodge). Ewald asks this "M.W. friend and very W.Br." to support the petition and states what causes him to recommend it: "if the constitution be not granted, there are two alternatives: either to let the Brethren continue to work under their own constitution [The Lodge had then a constitution, but in Ewald's opinion not a legal one] or through the court to get the work discontinued, which would cause unfavourable comment and have no good result. If they do not get the constitution it will mean discomfiture for me, the Order and the Royal Rescript."

4. Ewald sends further, October 22, same year, a private letter written in German to the Grand Master of the Scottish Grand Lodge in Copenhagen. We learn here that Ewald recently had returned from his trip already mentioned to Copenhagen (During his absence Brother L. Ebbesen, S.W., acted as W.M.) and that he had found everything in a satisfactory state and had taken over the chair as W.M. The Brethren had worked well and had bought a Lodge-house for 7,000 Rd., having paid down 2,000 Rd. It is from this letter we learn that he has got the permission to give the Scottish Degree, and that at the same time his Lodge is promoted to a Mother-Lodge. He writes: "The Lodge-papers should be sent to me as soon as possible, if they are not already dispatched; having got your promise I have been expecting them long, and I have assured the Scottish Brethren here, that the necessary documents were already signed and ready."

He asks to have the rituals for all four degrees in Danish, and promises to send remittance promptly. Further he mentions the petition for a charter for the English Lodge and states that he has caused the works of this irregular Lodge to be discontinued. Up to now the Lodge had been working in the dark and without constitution.

(The expressions "irregular Lodge" and "without constitution" must be accepted as his personal opinion derived from the System of Strict Observance and the Royal Rescripts.)

He recommends once more the petition and the Brethren of the English Lodge, and promises, if the constitution be given, to keep an eye on the work. "As the Brethren of said Lodge are not Danish and are not conversant with

the German Language, an amalgamation of the two Lodges cannot be recommended, and the Lodge-rooms would not be large enough." Until further directed Ewald has, for political reasons, permitted the English Brethren to meet, but without initiations, and he hopes that the M.W.G.M. will not disapprove of this arrangement. Should the constitution be granted, Ewald begs to be instructed with regard to the ceremony of consecration.

At the important Masonic convention in Wilhelmsbad in 1782 the System of the Strict Observance was partly discontinued, and in the following years Denmark gradually adopted the so-called "Rectified System," and worked under this until the so-called "Swedish System" was introduced towards the middle of the last century. The transfer to the "Rectified System" took place just about the time when the above-mentioned letters from Brother Ewald arrived and caused the postponing of any decision on the questions contained in those letters. We know this from a Danish memorandum, still in existence, of June 8th, 1785, made by the Grand Lodge in Copenhagen, which may be considered as an answer to Ewald's letters: "Several conditions have made it necessary for our highest Masonic authorities to consider once more the rituals for the Masonic degrees and have them rectified by a general Masonic convention. These have then again to be made to fit our Lodges. As soon as possible we shall see that they are translated into Danish for the regular and perfect Lodge 'To the Holy Cross' in St. Croix and dispatched to the W.M. of said Lodge, and the Brethren can at the same time expect to be granted other petitions sent to us, also the constitution to install Brother Walter Burke as W.M. and Brothers Godman and James Boyle as Ws. for a new working daughter Lodge in St. Croix according to their wish and petition. Until said new rituals are received from us we shall, in the name of the Highest Authorities, veto all initiating, passing and raising."

It is later related that, on account of the above, Brother Ad. von Kohl was denied further promotion during his stay in Copenhagen (Brother von Kohl was J.W. in the Lodge "To the Holy Cross." As he already had his third degree, the degree in question must have been the fourth.) but that his own Lodge can promote him when it receives the necessary rituals. It is further notified to the Lodge that W.Brother Moth last month was elected W.M. for Mother-Lodge Zorobabel, replacing Brother Bierregaard (Not Brother Fr. Moth, who in 1784 was Master of Ceremonies for the Lodge in St. Croix. See List of Members for 1784.)

The memorandum warns the Lodge not to act against the laws of the Lodges by initiating strangers who have been educated, employed and in fact live where a Mother-Lodge is working, without previously having obtained the permission of the Mother-Lodge. It is often with the greatest surprise that the Masters of our Lodges hear that naval officers, who make a trip to the West Indies, often only a very short one, return with certificates from the Lodge "Til det hellige Kors" which perhaps has not always had an opportunity of studying the minds of these men, at all events not as deeply as the Mother-Lodge under whose eyes they have grown up. Sometimes these Brethren have not even reached the required age, and as far as we know from our Lodges in no case has there been sent any remittance for the initiation-fees to the Mother-Lodge.

Attention is therefore urgently drawn to this point and in the future even a Dane, who *establishes* himself in St. Croix, must not be initiated before the opinion of the Copenhagen working Lodges has been obtained. "In the case of permission being granted the initiation-fees belong to the Lodge "To the Holy Cross."

There is nothing to show that the English Lodge ever got the Constitutional Charter which we see was intended to be given to it, as above mentioned in the memorandum. It is likely that it came to nothing, that the Lodge ceased to work and perhaps some of the Brethren affiliated with the Danish Lodge.

In a letter of February 2, 1785, written in Danish to Ewald from Brother F. C. Trolle (see List of Members from 1784 No. 21) in St. Thomas this Brother complains about Brother Stoud's unmasonic conduct and states that he speaks in a disrespectful manner about Freemasonry, even to profanes, amongst other things by relating that Brother Malleville retired from the Order because "Freemasonry contained nothing." Brother Trolle maintains nevertheless that Brother Malleville always, for him, has spoken about the royal art with the greatest reverence and caution.

Under date of April 16, 1785, Ewald writes a letter in German to the Lodge in Copenhagen and incloses Brother Trolle's letter. After first having told how conscientiously he always tries to administer his office as W.M. he recommends the expulsion of Stoud from the Order as a warning to others. He tells how he, after a conference (presumably with his officers) stated the case to Brother Malleville, who told him that Stoud was no longer on the books of the Lodge and that Ewald ought to refer the case to the Grand-Lodge in Copenhagen where likely Brother Trolle as well as Stoud were at the time. The case could then be thoroughly investigated there.

Ewald adds that also outside the Order Stoud's conduct had not been as it ought to have been, if what Brothers Bentzen (Bentson), Beverhoudt and Stenersen in St. Thomas, had several times mentioned be correct. Ewald asks further how he ought to rule in a case of a Brother, whom he had refused to raise to the third degree before the stipulated time and who in St. Kitts in an irregular Lodge had been raised to the third degree.

The same letter complains about a local English Lodge (it must be another one than the one he recommended to be given a charter) which takes unto itself unheard of liberties. "It does not hold any regular meetings, but holds Lodge-meetings on the plantations (sugar-estates). Initiations take place in the mornings and the candidate receives at once the two first degrees, and four weeks later the third. The dinner is attended without any ceremony, and the day ends with a drinking-Lodge. Candidates refused by the Danish Lodge are accepted in this English Lodge. A local planter, Ryan, is Prov. Grand Master (see *Personalia*), and he has the audacity to issue Charters to other Grand Masters, which means a trespassing on the rights of our Provincial Grand Master. "The good cause decidedly suffers by this and I beg you, M.W. Brother to write the English Grand Master and ask him to withdraw the Charter of this Prov. G.M., something he cannot refuse to do" (?)

At the end of this same letter Ewald begs to have the Scottish Charter sent; it was, when he left Copenhagen, only wanting the signature of the G.M. He hopes also soon to receive "The Charter for the other local English Lodge, whose petition was forwarded to Copenhagen some time ago, and whose members daily come to me and are impatient in their waiting for this Charter."

The Charter from the Scottish Grand Lodge was at last signed on November 21st, 1785, and by this the Daughter Lodge "To the Holy Cross" was promoted as a Mother-Lodge of the same name and with Ewald as W.M. This Charter is in neat caligraphy in Danish, and signed by Carl of Hessen as Provincial Grand Master for Upper and Lower Germany and for the Royal Danish lands and possessions, by von Bechtolsheim as Scottish Grand Master, by Mahling as Dep. Scottish Grand Master, and by Aasheim as G.S. This document is still preserved in the archives at Copenhagen.

One of the most interesting documents in existence from the old Danish Lodge in St. Croix is a manuscript list of members from October 1st, 1784, which we have already referred to, and for its great personal historic interest is here given in extenso:—

I.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE LODGE

"T-O T-H-E H-O-L-Y C-R-O-S-S,"

ST. CROIX IN AMERICA, OCTOBER 1ST, 1784.

NO.	NAME.	OCCUPATION.	BORN.	RELIG.	DEG.	REMARKS.
1.	Christian Ewald	Cancelleirath	1751	Luth.	4	W.M.
2.	Lorentz Ebbesen	Royal Dan. Agent	1728	do.	3	S.W. & Tr.
3.	Carl Ad. Kohl.	Captain	1754	do.	3	J.W. (off).
4.	Jens Parelius Brown	Stadt Vogt	1751	do.	3	J.W. (interim).
5.	Peter Loth Oxholm	Merchant	1752	do.	4	Orator
6.	Friederich Moth	Captain	1751	do.	4	M. of Cer.
7.	Carl Fred. Brandt	Builder	1750	do.	3	Stew.
8.	Edmun Jones	Painter	1748	do.	3	2 Stew.
9.	Georg Werligh	Chief-clerk	1745	do.	3	Secretary.
10.	Chr. Fr. Kipnasse	Planter	?	do.	3	
11.	John Ryan	Planter	?	Cath.	3	
12.	P. Clan. van Beverhoudt	Royal Agent	1752	Refor.	3	
13.	Diedrich v. Holstein	Captain, R.D.N.	?	Luth.	3	off.
14.	W. Wood P. Son	Planter	?	Refor.	3	
15.	Friederich Harboe	Lieutenant, R.D.N.	?	Luth.	3	off.
16.	Peter Rogiers	Procurator	1746	Refor.	3	
17.	Jacob Bentson	Auditor	?	Luth.	3	St. Thomas.
18.	Peter Hansen Koch	Captain, Merch. Marine	1745	do.	3	off.
19.	Mads Kirkegaard	Captain, Merch. Marine	?	do.	3	off.
20.	Chr. Walterstorff	Lieutenant, R.D.N.	?	do.	3	off.
21.	Fr. Chr. Trolle	Lieutenant		do.	2	St. Thomas.
22.	Johan Faerentz	Captain, Merch. Marine	?	do.	2	off.
23.	Johan Dam	Merchant	?	Refor.	1	off.
24.	And. Colding	Captain, Merch. Marine	1740	Luth.	1	off.
25.	Hans Kaas	Lieutenant, R.D.N.	1760	do.	3	off.
26.	Hans Ernst Porth	?	1759	do.	2	
27.	Peter Holte	Merchant	1754	do.	3	
28.	Joh. Chr. Smidt	Chirurgius	?	do.	3	off.
29.	B. L. Groot	Merchant	1751	do.	4	
30.	Edm. Bourcke	Planter	1761	Cath.	3	off.
31.	Johannes Brun	Merchant	1752	Luth.	3	In Copen.
32.	Peter Jurgensen	Merchant	1759	do.	1	off.
33.	Carl Gotlieb Fleischer	Merchant	1759	do.	3	
34.	John Gordon	M.D.	1756	Refor.	3	

NO.	NAME.	OCCUPATION.	BORN.	RELIG.	DEG.	REMARKS.
35.	Joseph Mooze	Merchant	1754	do.	3	
36.	Joh. Cornl. Krieger	Capt.-Lieut., R.D.N.	1756	Luth.	1	off.
37.	Martin Meermann	Bookkeeper	1742	do.	2	In St. Thomas.
38.	Swen Stenersen	Procurator	1752	do.	1	do.
39.	Jurg. D. Funck	Controller	1750	do.	1	do.
40.	Ant. Gravenhorst	Bookkeeper	1754	do.	2	do.
41.	Hans Jac. Ahlman	Controller	1756	do.	1	do.
42.	Didr. Tutein	Merchant	1755	do.	2	do.
43.	Christian Dolner	Lieutenant	1759	do.	2	
44.	Chr. von Holstein	Capt.-Lieut., R.D.N.	1749	do.	3	In Copenhagen.
45.	Fried. Saltwedel	Captain, Merch. Marine	1759	do.	1	off.
46.	Chr. W. Meyer	Merchant	1759	do.	2	In St. Thomas.
47.	Jens Alstrup	2nd Clark, Deal. Court	1757	do.	2	
48.	Fried. Stibolt	Pr. Lieut., R.D.N.	1750	do.	2	In Copenhagen.
49.	Johs. Thortsen	Captain, Merch. Marine	1753	do.	1	off.
50.	Johs. Mallevillewood	Merchant	1762	Refor.	1	In St. Thomas.
51.	Peter Aroe	Lieutenant	1763	Luth.	1	do.
52.	Lanzet Sandberg	Secretary-clerk	1758	do.	1	do.
53.	And. Grove	Lieut., R.D.N.	1761	do.	1	In Copenhagen.
54.	P. Erland Hoffgaard	Captain, Merch. Marine	1758	do.	1	off.
55.	Carl Gotfr. van Megen	Merchant	1746	do.	1	In St. Thomas.
56.	Chr. Fr. Bendecke	Procurator	1758	do.	1	do.
57.	Andreas Winding	Procurator	1758	do.	1	
58.	Sct. Herm. Zimmerman	Chirurgius	1744	do.	1	
59.	Joh. Alb. Ursin	Clerk, R. Appoint.	1745	do.	1	
60.	Geo. And. Francke	Former Soldier	1749	do.	3	Serv. Bro.
61.	Johs. Fr. Bayer	Sergeant	1759	do.	1	do.
62.	Carl Vilh. Jessen	Lieut., R.D.N.	1764	do.	1	

In the archives and museum in Copenhagen there are five certificates from the Lodge "To the Holy Cross." They are all in French. No. 1 is hand-written in colours on thick paper and was no doubt a local production. The others are partly printed and of the same pattern as those used at that time in other Danish Lodges:—

No. 1. Certificate for Captain Joh. Ferentz (List 1, No. 22) as companion, dated June 26th, 1779, signed by Ewald, W.M.; Charesius, S.W.; Ebbesen, J.W.; and Kipnasse, Secretary.

No. 2. Certificate for John Thortsen (List 1, No. 49) as apprentice, dated Feb. 21, 1784, signed by Ebbesen, W.M. (Ewald in Copenhagen); Moth, S.W.; Brown, J.W.; and Werligh, Secretary.

No. 3. Certificate for Henrich Rasmussen as M.M., dated August 11th, 1785, signed by Ewald, W.M.; Ebbesen, S.W.; Brown, J.W.; and Werligh, Secretary.

No. 4. Certificate for Nicolai Moller as M.M., dated November 3rd, 1795, signed by Ursin, W.M.; Schuster, S.W.; Joh. van Beverhoudt, J.W.; and B. Muller, Secretary.

(Nicolaj Moller was a Controller in St. Croix.)

No. 5. Certificate for E. A. Wadskiaer as M.M., dated July 29, 1803, signed by Joh. van Beverhoudt, W.M.; M. L. Krausch, S.W.; Joh. Mauritzen, J.W.; and P. C. Dons, Secretary.

Johs. Mauritzen was Judge in Christiansted, obtained the title of Justitsraad and was in 1823 made a member of the Government.

Peter Christian Dons was in 1800 Chief Clerk in the Custom Office in St. Croix, in 1805 Chief Clerk in St. Thomas and in 1814 member of the Council for St. Thomas and St. John.

During Ewald's Mastership, the Lodge sent regularly remittances to the Mother-Lodge in Copenhagen, the so-called St. John dues. This amounted to about 30-50 Rd. a year, always forwarded through home-visiting Brethren. The last time it was paid seems to have been in 1787, but it is possible that the Lodge was not bound to pay these dues after it was made a Mother-Lodge.

In a letter of Authorization of April 15th, 1793, from the Lodge it can be seen that a Brother in Copenhagen was appointed to represent the Lodge in the Directorium. The name of this Brother was Chr. Kierulff. The letter is signed by A. Ursin, W.M.; Sandberg, S.W.; P. Lund, J.W.; and Schuster, Secretary.

The Lodge in St. Croix, as later on the Lodge in St. Thomas, had also to pay dues to the Provincial-archive in Slesvig. It cannot be seen if these dues were paid regularly, but a note shows that the above-mentioned Brother Kierulff in 1795 paid on account of the Lodge for two years, 7 Rd. 1 m. per year.

There is no doubt about it but that Brother Ewald as W.M. governed his Lodge in a good and reliable way and with great interest and zeal and that the Lodge under him progressed rather well, everything considered.

Besides his Masonic work Brother Ewald was a member of another Society, the "KAEDE-ORDENEN," "Order of the Chain"; indeed he was even its leader for St. Croix. Two certificates are still in existence in the Lodge Museum in Copenhagen shewing this. These certificates are for Captain Henrich Rasmussen as Brother of the first and second degrees of the governing body in St. Croix called "The Hope in the West"; they are dated respectively August 30, 1786, and July 31, 1787, and are signed by Ewald and Jens Alstrup. (See the List, No. 47.)

This Rasmussen is the same to whom belonged the Masonic Certificate above mentioned (No. 3). He was thus a Freemason previous to his admittance into the Order of the Chain.

Ewald had been admitted to "The Order of the Chain" during his stay in Copenhagen 1783 to 1784, and probably he then obtained permission to form a Government of the Order in St. Croix. It seems to be beyond doubt that this Order, in St. Croix as well as in Copenhagen, got the majority of its members from among Freemasons and their female relatives, and the Fraternity did not put any obstacles in the way of the Brethren who wished to be admitted in this Order. The highest office of the Fraternity and of this Order has several times been occupied by the same person, the last time by the late King Frederik the Eighth.

The Order of the Chain is supposed to be a very old Society and to have been existing in several countries. In Copenhagen it was introduced anew in 1776, partly on the initiative of Freemasons. It has four degrees and its

methods of work are said to remind one much of Freemasonry. This Order, which admits men as well as women, has in the profane world done much good work for the blind.

After Ewald's departure from St. Croix in 1787 there is, so to say, nothing of much importance concerning the Lodge "To the Holy Cross." It can be seen from a signature in some ritual-protocols that at all events the following three Brethren succeeded Ewald in the Chair:—A. Ursin (see List, No. 59), Fr. Moth (see List, No. 6), and Johs. van Beverhoudt, who must have been initiated after 1784. But possibly there were other Brethren who occupied the Chair. It seems likely that either Ebbesen or I. P. Brown was Ewald's immediate successor. A somewhat apocryphal tradition mentions Johs. W. Mauritzen as the last W.M.

We have, however, to realize that, after Ewald's departure, the Lodge gradually declined; firstly, the formation of a Lodge in St. Thomas (December 3rd, 1798) deprived the Mother-Lodge in St. Croix of a number of its members, and of the opportunity of getting any more members from St. Thomas. And, secondly, later on, here, as in St. Thomas, the English occupation of the islands contributed to a further stagnation.

It is not much that we find in Copenhagen to tell the history of this old Danish Lodge in St. Croix.

Besides what we have already mentioned we find the complete Rituals for the St. John's degrees under the Rectified System. The different volumes are solidly bound and, with the exception of two, have the seal of "To the Holy Cross" attached.

The author believes that these books can only indirectly be said to have belonged to the Lodge "To the Holy Cross," as they are merely copies signed either: Copy Correct, Lodge "To the Holy Cross" in St. Croix, April 29th, 5799, Fr. Moth W.M., Joh's van Beverhoudt S.W., Chr. von Holstein J.W., P. Iversen, Secretary, or: In conformity with the ritual used in the Lodge "To the Holy Cross" complete, St. Croix, May 29th, 5799. Same signatures.

The two Rituals which do not bear the seal of the Lodge have neither date nor any indication of place, and the verification runs as follows:—"The correctness of the copy verified, Gravenhorst W.M., the Lodge 'St. Thomas til Enigheden' (St. Thomas to Unity)." These are, therefore, copies verified after the promotion of this Lodge in St. Thomas to a Mother-Lodge in 1803.

It seems justifiable to say that all these Rituals are copies for the use of the Lodge in St. Thomas after this was started, first as a Daughter-Lodge in St. Croix, December 3rd, 1798, till in 1803 it became a Mother-Lodge.

The original Rituals, both for the St. John's degrees and for the Scottish Degree, used in Lodge To the Holy Cross, do not now exist, although it seems that they were sent to Copenhagen in 1861, together with the above-mentioned Rituals and the protocols from St. Thomas.

During a stay in Copenhagen in 1859, Brother Kammerjunker Bie, at that time Controller of Customs in Christiansted, St. Croix, notified the Danish G.L. that he knew that different documents concerning the Lodge "To the Holy Cross" were in the possession of non-Masons in Christiansted, and, amongst others, one Sergeant Jensen of the West Indian Troops had a protocol. The Danish G.L., through one of its highest officials, Director of Police, Braestrup, empowered Brother Bie to get possession of these things on his return to Christiansted, if necessary, by the assistance of the Governor.

On the 27th of April, 1861, Brother Bie writes that he is dispatching all that he was able to get hold of, both from the Lodge in St. Croix and from the one in St. Thomas. A few of the things were in the possession of Freemasons, but the greater part was in the hands of profanes, who were said to have bought them. There had besides been a great many other relics from these two Lodges, but a Brother in St. Thomas stated that these had been handed over to him after the death of an old Brother. The contents of the different trunks being almost entirely destroyed by insects, he had preferred to burn them all.

Brother Bie had also made a trip to St. Thomas and obtained very useful assistance from Brother William Martin, Senior, Merchant, member of the Lodge "Les Coeurs Sincères" No. 141, under the Grand Orient of France. It was this brother who had burned the old defaced relics.

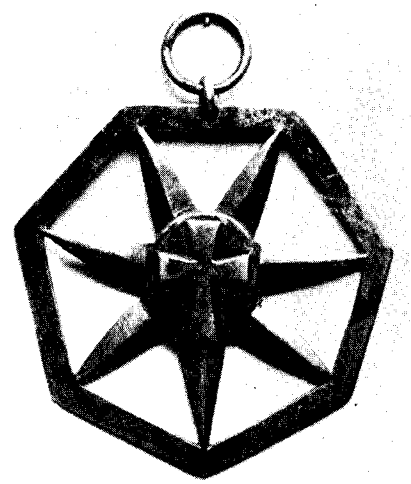
The name of the old deceased Brother, who had had these things in his possession, Brother Bie believes was either Wandel, Wanding or Wallich.[1]

The papers having been received by the Danish Grand Lodge, a letter of thanks was sent to Brother Bie and to Brother William Martin, Senior, who in a letter to the Danish Grand Lodge expressed his pleasure that his assistance was considered of some value.

It is possible that the original protocols from St. Croix were found on their arrival to be so much defaced by the tooth of age that they were not fit for the archives.

In the Lodge-Museum is a Lodge-emblem or jewel for Brethren of the Lodge "To the Holy Cross." This was worn on the breast attached to a blue ribbon, as were the Lodge-emblems of all Danish Lodges of those days.

Such is all we know about the old Danish Lodge in St. Croix, but in the following about St. Thomas a little more information will be found, and in "Personalia" we shall hear something about a few of the Brethren.



P-E-R-S-O-N-A-L-I-A.

FOUNDERS:

Christian Ewald was born on May 11th, 1751, became a barrister-at-law and lieutenant; he was initiated into Freemasonry in the Lodge "ZOROBABEL TIL NORDSTIERNEN" in Copenhagen on February 15th, 1773. In this Lodge he got his Master's degree and possibly also the fourth degree (Scottish degree), before he, probably in 1774, was appointed Notary in Christiansted and got the title of "Kancelliraad."

Shortly after his arrival in St. Croix, where he lived in Etatsraad Ryberg's house in Hospital Street, in Christiansted, he procured the establishment of the Lodge "To the Holy Cross," whose W.M. he was until he in 1787 left the West Indies.

[1] Must have been Walloe, whose name Brother Jno. N. Lightbourn, P.M. No. 356, tells me he has seen mentioned in a St. Thomas Almanac for 1832 as W.M. of a Danish Lodge in St. Thomas, whose name he thinks was "Unity." K.-H.

After his return to Denmark, Ewald seems to have bought a farm, "Lille Hesbjerg," near the town Odense, where he lived until he sold it in 1793. When the Lodge "Maria to the three Hearts"—an earlier Lodge there had been dormant for some years—was constituted and consecrated May 30th, 1793, Ewald was put in the chair as W.M. It is not unreasonable to believe that Ewald, as a former W.M., had taken the initiative in getting the constitution in order. That he had a good name in the highest places in the Directorium can be seen from a letter written to him personally by the Prov. Grand Master, Prince Carl of Hessen, which was sent at the same time as the Charter of Constitution, and in which the Prince expressed his pleasure at seeing the governing of the new Lodge put in the hands of a Mason so well fitted for the post, so honest and so devoted to the cause of the Order.

The Lodge continued to make good progress under his rule as W.M. till he resigned in 1800, on being sent as Merchant-Commissary to Cette in France. His stay there could not have been long, as in the years 1802 to 1803 we find him as member ad interim of the Government in the Danish colony in Tranquebar in the East Indies. His last official office was a deputy in the Economy-commerce-collegium in Copenhagen from 1804 to 1816. He got the title "Generalkrigs-kommisaer," and was made Knight of Dannebrog.

On his trip to Denmark in 1783 to 1784 Brother Ewald must have passed through Paris, and there been admitted into the higher degrees of the Order, and thereafter communicating perhaps in person with Prince Carl of Hessen. This is evident from a letter from the prince read at the meeting of the 29th of October, 1783, in the Scottish Grand Lodge in Copenhagen, and in which he notifies them that he recognises the Very W. Brother Ewald as a Brother of the Inner Order on account of degrees which he has obtained in France, and that he has given Ewald the Order-name, "Christianus Eques a Cruce sancte" (Knight Christian to the Holy Cross), and as arms a red cross on a white ground with the following inscription:—"Finis et merces laborum" (The end and the reward of the labour).

Brother Ewald was accordingly considered and received as a Brother of the Inner Order and his name is, in fact, found in the Register of those Brethren in Copenhagen.

Brother Ewald was himself present as a visiting Brother at the meeting in the Directorium. Shortly after this he petitioned the Directorium to elevate his Lodge to a Mother Lodge.

This petition was circulated amongst the members, and twenty-four of these members gave their opinions in writing. None of them were actually against the granting of the petition, but one of the Brethren voiced his own and twelve other Brethren's doubt that, when Brother Ewald retired as the W.M., it might possibly be difficult over there to find a man fit to govern a Mother Lodge. The petition was, as we know, later on granted.

At a meeting of the Directorium of May 6th, 1784, Ewald petitioned to have his brother, Erik Ewald, lieutenant in the Life-Guards, initiated in the Lodge in Copenhagen, but for the account of the Lodge "To the Holy Cross." This could not be granted, as the candidate was living in Copenhagen, but it was resolved to initiate him gratis in the Lodge "Zorobabel Til Nordstjernen." This initiation took place the 18th of the same month.

It is evident that Ewald during his stay in Tranquebar discussed with Brethren the usefulness of erecting a Lodge there under the Danish Grand Lodge and many were for it. It is known that Ewald during his final stay in Copenhagen, where he was made a member of the Directorium, caused a constitution to be prepared for a Lodge in Tranquebar which got the name "To the Brotherly Love," and Ewald was the representative of this Lodge in the Directorium.

It is learned from the protocols of the Directorium that Ewald was an industrious and interested Brother, who held several offices of trust; he was, for instance, Second Deputy Grand Master at the meetings of the Grand Lodge, and

was in 1820 appointed to arrange the archives received from Prince Carl, belonging to the former Prefectur "Binin."

Brother Ewald died in 1829, but, as far as can be seen, he did not attend any Masonic meetings during his last years. But we are surely permitted to believe that he, in the evening of his life, with pleasure and gratitude looked back over fifty-six years of industrious and interesting life as a Freemason.

Besides his brother, already mentioned, he introduced into the Lodge "Zorobabel to the Northstar," two sons, both born in Odense in Denmark, namely, in 1814, Mate E. F. Ewald; and, in 1816, Lieutenant H. F. Ewald.

Ferdinand August Charesius was a broker in St. Croix.

Eduard Roring: Secretary for the Governor-General, and later Deputy Collector of Customs in St. Thomas.

Christ. Fred. Kipnasse: Owner of an estate in north-side quarter, litra B. in St. Croix.

H. C. Hoy: Chief Clerk under the Government, Royal Appointment.

P. Claussen van Beverhoudt was likely a merchant and had the title of Royal Agent. He belonged probably to a very widely spread family of that name in St. Croix, and was possibly a son of General Warcommissary Lucas van Beverhoudt and possibly father or brother of the later W.M. of the Lodge, Johs. van Beverhoudt, Royal Bookkeeper.

Angell, likely identical with Nicholas Angel, later Bookkeeper at the Secretary's Office in St. Croix.

John Ryan: Owner of estates in King's, Queen's and East End-quarters of St. Croix. As will be remembered, in 1777, that is shortly after the erection of the Lodge "To the Holy Cross," one of whose founders he was, John Ryan was appointed English Prov. G.M. for St. Croix. All the same we find him still in 1784 as a member of the Danish Lodge (List of Members, No. 11). But in the year 1785 Ewald complains about him in connection with an irregular English Lodge, and at the same time Ewald tries his best to obtain a Danish constitution for the original English Lodge, named St. George, of which John Ryan must have been a member before the erection of the Danish Lodge, and of which he also later seems to have considered himself a member. Together with another Brother, James S. Ferrall, he visits on March 15th, 1800, the Lodge in Copenhagen, and both sign as members of the Lodge St. George, although this Lodge most likely had been dormant for years. If it is not a case of mixing of names, and that is not likely, then this good Brother Ryan [1] must have played a peculiar double-role, also for the English G.L.

J. Harthmann, who as serving Brother was one of the founders of the Lodge, was likely a minor official of some kind. At that time there were a couple of that name in Christiansted, one of whom lived in the same street as Ewald. That is all we know.

OTHER BRETHREN:

Thomas de Malleville was born in St. Thomas on September 16th, 1742, and was in 1764 a captain in a regiment in Denmark "Det Falsterske," and was probably initiated into Freemasonry in Copenhagen in "Vinkel" Lodge [2] "Zu den drei Rosen" (To the Three Roses). From this Lodge he affiliated in March, 1764 with Lodge Phœnix, which was constituted in 1763, and whose W.M. he became about three weeks after his affiliation.

[1] I find it my duty to state that John Ryan in H. West's book of 1793 on St. Croix, etc., is mentioned as a gentleman who had become a well-known and thorough naturalist, one who with great kindness and skill taught his science to Mr. West, who himself was a scholar of renown. K.-H.

[2] Vinkel Lodge=Irregular Lodge.

In 1772 he was made a Major, and in 1773 a Colonel in the Infantry and Commandant for St. Thomas and St. John. This same year he was, for a short while, W.M. for the Lodge "Zorobabel to the Northstar." In the System of the Strict Observance Brother Malleville was promoted to the highest degree of the Order (the Knight-Degree of Brother of the Inner-Order) and obtained the Order-Name "Eques ab Igniaris" (Knight of the Flint). In 1796 he was Governor-General over the islands.

Peter Lotharius Oxholm was in his youth a lieutenant and was as far as we know made a Mason in the town Rendsborg. He was later a merchant and estate-owner in St. Croix, and about 1795 a member of the Government there. He was in Copenhagen in 1797 and wrote several pamphlets against various criticisms of the administration of the islands. As Major-General he was in 1814 made Vice-Governor-General for the islands.

Jens Stoud, born on September 1st, 1741, in the Island of Moen in Denmark, was initiated into Freemasonry on November 17th, 1774, in the Lodge Zorobabel to the Northstar, being at that time already Judge in St. Thomas. He was in 1787 appointed Chief Justice. Nothing is known about Brother Stoud's eventual exclusion from the Lodge as proposed by Brother Ewald.

The following Brethren have been mentioned in connection with the Lodge in St. Croix, but as they have special interest for the history of the St. Thomas Lodge their personalia will follow the sketch of the history of the latter:—Stenersen, Carl Gottlieb Fleischer and Johs. Malleville Wood.

Lorentz Ebbesen was initiated on October 26th, 1775, in the Lodge "Zorobabel to the Northstar."

Jens Parelius Brown was born in Norway, initiated on December 27th, 1780, in the Lodge "Zorobabel to the Northstar," appointed Judge in Christiansted in 1781, and made Chief Judge in 1798. Later he obtained the title of Etatsraad and was made Director of Auctions in Copenhagen. He died in 1817.

Friederich Moth was born in St. Croix in 1750, and became a captain. He was initiated in the Lodge "Zorobabel to the Northstar" on October 26th, 1775. Married first Miss Wood and later Miss Stoud. He died in 1801.

Georg Werligh, born in Slagelse in Denmark, initiated July 5th, 1779, in the Lodge "Zorobabel to the Northstar," and died as procurator in Christiansted about 1801.

Diedrich von Holstein was initiated in the Lodge "Zorobabel to the Northstar" on October 18th, 1778.

Peter Holte was initiated in the Lodge "Zorobabel to the Northstar" on November 10th, 1779.

Edmund Bourcke was owner of estate "St. Maria."

Johannes Brun was initiated in the Lodge "Zorobabel to the Northstar" on November 14th, 1781.

Christian von Holstein was initiated in the Lodge "Zorobabel to the Northstar" on November 11th, 1777.

Joachim Fr. Samuel Schuster was Archivist in the Government, later Chief Clerk in the Office of the Secretary, then Cashier under the Customs, and, in 1817, Broker in Christiansted.

S-T. T-H-O-M-A-S.

In R. F. Gould's *History of Freemasonry* and in the German hand-book *Allgemeines Handbuch der Freimaurerei* we read that in 1792 some Freemasons in St. Thomas got a dispensation from the Grand Lodge in Pennsylvania "to hold Lodge for 6 months." This Lodge-activity—if it took place at all—we are allowed to suppose was the first Lodge-life in St. Thomas.

According to the List of Members of the Lodge "To the Holy Cross" for 1784 there were already in that year fourteen Brethren living in St. Thomas and belonging to that Lodge. It is not likely that any of these, or any other St. Thomians, initiated later than 1784 in the Lodge "To the Holy Cross," were amongst those who petitioned and obtained that dispensation from Pennsylvania. On the other hand, it would seem strange if those fourteen Brethren, who very likely knew one another well, did not meet now and then to discuss questions of a Masonic nature. Such meetings must have taken place, and by degrees led to a desire to get a Lodge in their own island, a Lodge with which St. Thomians belonging to other Lodges could also affiliate. Negotiations with the Lodge in St. Croix had probably taken place, and these negotiations matured in 1798 when the Mother-Lodge "To the Holy Cross" gave permission for the founding of a Daughter-Lodge of Instruction in St. Thomas; for only such work the new Lodge in St. Thomas did during its first four to five years; no initiations, only instruction and conferences.

From an historian's point of view, we have with St. Thomas better luck than we had with St. Croix, as two Minute-Books are still in existence of this Lodge, and by the help of these we are able to follow its work and discussions through the period they cover.

The first of these Minute-Books runs from the day of its consecration, December 3rd, 1798, to April 2nd, 1803, which is the period during which the Lodge worked under the name "*Enigheden*" (Unity). The second one commences on April 9th, 1803—the day when the Lodge, under the name "St. Thomas to Unity," starts as a Regular working Lodge with Charter from the Directorium in Copenhagen (the Scottish Lodge Directorium), and this Minute-Book is kept up to June 8th, 1808.

As Brother Ewald was the one who worked indefatigably for the Lodge in St. Croix, so it was also a single Brother who was the soul of the Lodge in St. Thomas, and this was Brother ANTHON GRAVENHORST, who was initiated in the Lodge "To the Holy Cross," in whose List of Members we see him (1784) as No. 40 Brother of the second degree, and, in the profane life, a bookkeeper. At the foundation of the Lodge in St. Thomas he was Controller of Customs there. He became the first W.M. and, as Ewald had done before him, he went to Copenhagen and there got a Charter for his Lodge as a Regular Lodge.

We have no special list of Brethren from the first period of the Lodge (December 3rd, 1798, to April 3rd, 1803), but to a certain extent it is possible to construct one from the Minute-Book. This is not altogether easy, especially as the first of the two Minute-Books has suffered great damage, thus making it difficult to make out the names and furthermore the names are often spelled differently at the different meetings. It is also not rare to find Brethren at one meeting marked down as members and at the next meeting as visiting Brethren, and vice versa. And we learn from the Minutes themselves that it has not always been clear who were real members of the Lodge. The following lists have been constructed with the greatest possible accuracy by the writer. (List No. 2: Members, and List No. 3: Visitors.) These lists refer to the first period.

Of the second period there is still in existence an original written List of Members from 1804 (List No. 4), and in List No. 5 we have gathered from the Minute-Book names of Brethren who, either before or after 1804, could justly be considered real members. Further we give in List No. 6 the names of visitors during this same second period gathered from the protocol, and we add

Lists No. 7 and No. 8, which are of interest for the history of West Indian Lodges. Neither from the first nor from the second period have we any Charter or certificates. But we have still some letters from Brother Gravenhorst and some other papers the contents of which will be given as far as they in any way can throw light on the history of the Lodge. But it is mostly from the two Minute-Books that we can form a picture of the Lodge-life in these remote days. We shall now study those Minute-Books, but we first make the following remarks:—

(1) To avoid unnecessary bulk and tiresome repetitions, we shall give an extract of the Minutes, trying not to omit anything of interest.

(2) At and after the meeting of July 3rd, 1799, a charity-box was circulated at the meetings.

(3) The Minutes are signed generally only by the W.M., the two Wardens and the Secretary, but later on as a rule also by the initiated or promoted Brethren.

(4) In the Minutes are the names of the Brethren present, members as well as visitors. In the extracts we will give only the number of Brethren present, but the names will be found in the lists.

(5) In cases where another Brother fills an office during the absence of an officer, the name of such Brother will not be mentioned in the extracts.

(6) One half Johannes (a Joe) is, when of full weight, equal to 12 Rdr. 24 Styver. One Patacon (a dollar) is 15 old Reals or 75 Styver. Eight Patacons make one Johannes. One old Real (an old bit) is 5 Styver. A good Real (a good bit) is no coin but 6 Styver. Eight good Reals make one Rigsdaler (one piece of eight), which is no coin but 48 Styver. The smallest coin is a Styver. One hundred and twenty-five Rdl. (Rigsdaler) West Indian=100 Rdr. Danish. See H. West's book of the former Danish W. I., etc., of 1793. This item (6) is the Translator's note.

The first Minutes are in their entirety as follows:—

"Anno 5798.12.3.—5 [*i.e.*, 1798, the twelfth month, the third day at 5 o'clock] in the Lodge "ENIGHEDEN" in St. Thomas the following Master Masons: V.W.B. Gravenhorst, B.B. Stenersen, Holte, Otto, Olsen, Troxell, Magens, Hordmann, Marques, Blake, Hoff, Warren, Runnels, Beaudouin and Fleischer elected

as	Senior Warden ...	Bro.	Magens,
as	Junior Warden ...	,,	Hoff.
as	Sec. and Orator ...	,,	Stenersen.
as	Treasurer	,,	Otto,
as	Aumonier	,,	Runnels.
as	Master of Ceremonies	,,	Olsen.

As members of committee for economical purposes were appointed: Brothers Stenersen, Magens, Runnels and Fleischer, who would give report on December 19th, in open Lodge of all Brethren."

It is evident from this that it previously was decided that Brother Gravenhorst was to be the W.M., an office he filled through all the time covered by the two Minute-Books, except for the period when he was on a voyage to Europe.

The next meeting was a committee-meeting:—

"Anno 5798.12.7.—8 in a meeting of this committee it was decided that every Brother pay a monthly fee to the Lodge of 4

petacons, and that from the funds now in hand a complete outfit for the Lodge be bought, as cheaply as possible." Signed by the four members of the committee.

The meeting of December 19th, for the purpose of hearing the report of the committee seems not to have taken place.

"Anno 5798.12.27—12. Lodge Enigheden [Unity)] held a meeting; present were twenty-three Brethren and one Brother visitor. The Lodge was opened by the W.M., and the speaker read the charter of this Daughter Lodge and gave a short speech, after which the W.M. closed the Lodge." [Paper much damaged.]

It is to be supposed that all work now was suspended till the Lodge-rooms were fixed and the rituals previously mentioned arrived from St. Croix. These were, as we have seen, copied in April to May, 1799. In all about half a year elapsed before the next meeting was held:—

"Anno 5799. June 24. A 'Taffel-Lodge' [Dinner Lodge] was held, twenty-two Brethren were present. Before the dinner, Brother Kruger was appointed Secretary, vice Brother Stenersen, who was leaving for Denmark. Brother Holte was appointed Preparator and Brother Eckhard Orator. Thereafter the Royal Rescript of April 29th, 1780, was read. Further was read a letter from the Mother-Lodge in St. Croix to the W.M., written on account of wishes expressed by Jews to gain admission and initiation in the Lodges, which the letter states cannot be allowed. It was also decided to hold a Lodge of Instruction, on the first Wednesday of every month. The Lodge was then closed by the W.M."

"Anno 5799, July 3. Lodge meeting. Fourteen Brethren and two visitors were present. A letter was read from a Vinkel-Lodge in St. Thomas, petitioning the Lodge in St. Croix—and asking our recommendation—for permission to open and hold a Lodge in St. Thomas. It was decided to forward said petition after having signed it. Then was read a letter from Brother Bradt, who had done a part of the work required at the fixing up of the Lodge-rooms, for which he asked to be refunded trouble and loss of time. It was decided to give him 50 Johannisser." Charity-box: 10 petacons.

"Anno 5799, August 7. Lodge meeting, ten Brethren present. Letter of thanks from Brother Bradt." Charity-box: 4 ptc., 4 rl., 5 st.

"Anno 5799, August 13 (?). Conference-Lodge. Present were eighteen Brethren and one visitor.

The W.M., Brother Gravenhorst, had verbally summoned Brother Renauldon as Master of "Les maçons étrangères reunis," and his two Wardens in order to give them the Mother-Lodge's answer to their petition to open and keep a Lodge here. Bro. Renauldon met and received the letter of August 1st, containing the following ruling:—

"The petition cannot directly be granted, but they are at liberty to send to this Lodge a petition worded to the Directorium in Copenhagen asking for a special constitution, giving the name of the intended Lodge and giving their promise under their obligation as Freemasons, if the constitution be granted, to work entirely after our Lodge's System. A petition of this nature would, circumstances permitting, be forwarded after having been recommended here, and till resolution thereon be taken, the petitioners will have to give up all separate meetings. This Lodge has no objection till the resolution of the Directorium arrives, that the petitioners as well as any other Brethren never mind of what religion (but it must be understood as

the Christian religion) or of what nation, shall have free admission to this Lodge in St. Thomas as well as to the other Danish Lodges."

Brother Renauldon aswered, that in his opinion the Lodge in St. Croix had no competence whatsoever to rule as it did, and that he would continue to work as before as W.M. of the Lodge in St. Thomas: "Les maçons étrangères reunis," until stopped by the authorities.

After this it was resolved by the W.M. and the Brethren to procure the discontinuance, through the authorities, of a Lodge whose existence did not conform to the Rescript of April 29th, 1780. (It is not likely, however, that this was really done, see later.)

Anno 5799 the 4th of September an Apprentice Lodge was held. Present were twenty Brethren and two Brother visitors. "It was resolved to write the Lodge in St. Croix in order to obtain the laws which were framed at that Lodge's foundation to be able to fix the status of the membership here, thereby making sure who were real members of this Lodge." As serving Brothers were proposed Ole Nielsen and Soren Jensen, and it was decided to send them to the Lodge in St. Croix to have them initiated. Brethren present were asked to pay their arrears to the Treasurer, Brother Otto.

Brothers Fleischer, Grüner and Morch were appointed to examine if any Brethren wished to become members of the Lodge. Charity-box: 9 ptc.

Anno 5799. September 14th, a conference Lodge was held. Ten Brethren were present. It was decided to make out a list of the Brethren who wished to be considered as real members of the Lodge. This was done and the list was signed by the Brethren present. Brothers Fleischer and Holte were then by vote appointed to get this list signed by masons who would like to be considered members of the Lodge. "It was further decided" that the W.M. should inspect the house of Mr. Janiche, and if he found that house fit, then to rent it for 20 Johannisser a month as the present Lodge-house had proven too small when all Brethren were present.

Anno 5799. October 12th a "Taffel Lodge" was held. Present were thirteen Brethren and one Brother visitor. The visitor, Brother Rotgers, was proposed and accepted as a member. Charity-box: 21 ptc., 7 rl.

Anno 1799. October 16th, an Apprentice Lodge was opened. Fourteen Brethren were present. "The W.M. undertook the Catechetic instruction." [1] Charity-box: 7 ptc. 2 rl. 3 styv.

Anno 5800. January 31st, an Apprentice Lodge was opened. Present were twenty-one Brethren and six visiting Brothers. Instruction. Charity-box: 17 ptc. 2 rl. 5 st.

Anno 5800, March 19th, a conference Lodge was held. Thirteen Brethren were present. Brother Gravenhorst mentioned that he and S. W. Magens and the Treasurer, Brother Otto, were shortly going to Europe and asked the Lodge to elect three Brethren to fill the three offices thus becoming vacant.

The departing Brethren expressed their gratitude to the Brethren for brotherly kindness shown towards them, and all good wishes for the Lodge and all the Brethren.

Brother Otto gave account as treasurer with a credit of 54 ptc. 2 rl. 5 st. This amount together with 21 Lodge-jewels were pro tempore given over to the J.W., Brother Hoff.

[1] Further references of this nature will be mentioned merely as 'instruction.'

"Per plurima vota":

Brother	von Scholten was elected	W.M.
,,	Hoff	S.W.
,,	Kruger	J.W.
,,	Blake	Treasurer.
,,	P.M. Morch	Secretary.

Brother Hoff gave over to Brother Blake that which he had just received. Finally Brothers Gravenhorst, Otto and Magens asked that their memberships be suspended until their return.

Anno 5800, March 22nd, an Apprentice Lodge was opened by the W.M., Brother Gravenhorst. Present were seventeen Brethren and one visiting Brother. Brother Gravenhorst handed over the gavel to Brother C. W. von Scholten. Charity-box: 19 ptc. 4 rl.

Anno 5800, April 11th, a "Taffel Lodge" was opened. Present were twenty-two Brethren (including Brother Gravenhorst) and ten visiting Brethren (including Brothers Otto and Magens). Charity-box: 41 pcn. 2 rl. 3 st. (This "Taffel Lodge" most likely in honour of the three departing Brethren.)

Anno 5800, May 3rd, a conference Lodge was held. Eighteen Brethren were present. "The W.M. asked if it were the pleasure of the Brethren to continue to rent this house, or to buy it for 20,000 rl., or to buy for 14,000 rl. the new one just being built by Janiche, or build themselves a Lodge house. The Brethren present were in favour of continuing to rent the house until our contract with Janiche was up, and then to build a Lodge house if the members of the local French Lodge agreed." (This proves that there was no longer any animosity against the French Lodge.)

Anno 5800, June 11th, a conference Lodge was held. Fourteen Brethren were present. "It was resolved to rent out the lower part of the house in which the Lodge was kept on the condition that the Lodge would not be disturbed in its work."

By vote: Brothers Holte, Fleischer and Runnels were elected members to frame bye-laws, and Brothers Von Scholten, Olsen and Blake members of the "Buildings-Committee."

Anno 1800, July 22, a conference Lodge was held. Present were eight Brethren. "The W.M. wished the Lodge to elect a new W.M. in his place as he, Brother von Scholten did not consider himself able to fulfil his duties as he would like to. Per plurima vota Brother Hoff was elected W.M., Brother Kruger S.W., Brother Olsen J.W. and Brother Gruner, Master of Ceremonies."

Anno 5800, June 24th a regular Apprentice Lodge and Taffel Lodge was held. Eight Brethren were present (only the office bearers present). "A Petition from Mary Elizabeth was read to the effect that she was a widow with five children of the deceased Brother Aaroe and asked for help from the Lodge. It was decided that every member of the Lodge should contribute according to his means, and that the Secretary should write the widow and ask her every year about the same time to petition the Lodge which would grant her help as far as the circumstances allowed it." Charity-box: 15 ptc. 3 rl.

Anno 5800 August 6th, an Apprentice Lodge was opened. Ten Brethren. Instruction. The W.M. made known that he intended to rehearse a reception Lodge on the first Wednesday in the following month. The treasurer was asked to collect all arrears. Charity-box: 5 ptc.

Anno 5800 September 3.—7, an Instruction Lodge in first degree was held. The W.M. asked Brother Nissen to act as the candidate. Ten Brethren and one Brother-visitor. Charity-box: 2 ptc. 1 st.

Anno 5800 October 1.—7. An Apprentice Lodge was held. Fourteen Brethren and two Brother-visitors. Instruction. A letter

from the W.M. of "Holy Cross" was read concerning the inexcusable conduct of the former master of ceremonies, Brother Leimburnus, against that Lodge; stating further that he had been excluded. The W.M. decided to write the French Lodge here about Brother Leimburnus's bad conduct. Charity-box: 4 ptc. 4 rl. 2 st.

Anno 5800 October 21st. A Conference Lodge was held. Sixteen Brethren. The Treasurer, Brother Blake gave an account of the arrears amounting to 5164 ptc. 6 rl. All the Brethren present declared that they were willing to pay what they might owe. "Read By-laws of the Lodge consisting of nine paragraphs which were signed by the Brethren present, and it was decided to send them for signature to the Brethren absent. Brothers Eckard and Fournier said that they were about to leave the island and wished to be exempt from paying any monthly dues until their return."

Anno 5800 November 5—7 Apprentice Lodge. Thirteen Brethren. Four Brother visitors. Instruction. Charity-box: 9 ptc. 6 rl. 3 st.

Anno 1800. December 27th. "Taffel Lodge." Charity-box: 11 ptc. 4 rl. 4 st.

Anno 5801 January 27th. Conference Lodge. Twenty Brethren. The Treasurer, Brother Blake gave an account of the arrears and asked, on account of private work, to be relieved from his office. Brother Gruner was elected in his place. Brothers Allicock and Schmerber were elected auditors, and it was remarked that Brother Blake would be considered responsible to the Lodge for what might be found unsatisfactory in the accounts.

It was further under discussion which one of Janiche's two houses should be bought. As he was going to Europe they were both for sale, the upper one, where the Lodge was held, for 18,000 ptc.; 4,000 to be paid the following year, 5,000 on mortgage and the rest with legal interest to be paid in 9 years. The price of the lower house was 12,000 ptc., of which 4,000 to be paid the following year and the balance within 8 years. (The opinion seems to have been for buying the lower one.) As the Brethren were not all present it was decided to ask the opinion of those absent. Brothers Hoff, Gruner and Olsen were elected to discuss a reduction in price with Mr. Janiche. Brother Blake gave up his membership from February 1st. One Mauerkart was accepted as serving Brother with a monthly pay of 8 ptc.

As the Lodge could not accept Brother Blake's reasons for dimitting it was decided to notify him to that effect. (Brother Blake must have left the meeting before this discussion.)

Anno 5801 February 4th. An Apprentice Lodge was opened. Present were fourteen Brethren and Serving Brother. Brothers Allicock and Schmerber had examined Brother Blake's books and stated that the arrears amounted to 3,736 petacons, 2 rl. The new Treasurer, Brother Gruner, took over the office and the hope was expressed "that he with the greatest possible diligence would try to get in the arrears and attend to the duties of his office." Brothers Hoff, Olsen and Gruner announced that Mr. Janiche stuck to the 12,000 ptc. for the lower house. As all the Brethren were not present, it was decided to open a Conference Lodge on Saturday the 7th to discuss the price. The By-Laws were then read and the W.M. remarked "That in accordance with paragraph five he would give the treasurer a note of the absent Brethren so that he could get in the fines for the benefit of the poor." Charity-box: 2 ptc. 2 rl. 4 st.

Anno 5801. February 10th. A Conference Lodge was opened. Eleven Brethren present. A circular was read which had been sent to all the Brethren, asking them to be present, but if any should be

unable to come, then such Brethren would be considered as consenting to what those present might decide with regard to the intended purchase of Mr. Janicke's house. Mr. Janicke was sent for and was offered 11,000 ptc., but he did not accept. It was then decided to continue to rent the house.

If we can believe the Minute-Book there seems to have been no meeting for the following two years. The Lodge possibly had no suitable rooms for its meetings.

The 12th of January 5803 the Brethren met by request of the W. Brother Hoff. Of those who signed the summons twenty-three Brethren met, amongst these were Brothers Gravenhorst and Otto, after two and three quarter years of absence. (Although the Minutes do not mention it, Brother Gravenhorst was again elected W.M. at this meeting.)

The W. Brother Gravenhorst explained that he had taken much pains in obtaining a Charter for this Lodge, to be advanced to a Regular Lodge, and he proposed to hold Lodge in Brother Hoff's house, "where the Brethren to-day have come together." He proposed either to rent or to buy it. The Brethren appointed a committee which on the following Saturday week should forward a plan for the fixing of the Lodge-rooms. Brothers Fleischer, Melstedt and Stenersen were appointed. It was further decided to write to the Brethren absent and ask them to be present to hear the committee's report on Saturday week. Minutes signed: Gravenhorst and Hoff.

Anno 5803 January 22nd. The meeting was kept as scheduled, but only twelve Brethren were present. Being so very few they would not take any decision, but another meeting was fixed for the following Tuesday to which Brother Gravenhorst would summon all the Brethren.

The Minutes of this meeting follow in extenso:—

"Anno 5803. January 25th. The Brethren came together—following the summons of the W. Brother Gravenhorst in the house of the W. Brother Hoff. Of those who had signed the summons there were absent: Tim. Fogarthy, P. M. Morch, I. M. Wood, Baudouin, I. Blake and Von Holten, the last one sick. The following Brethren had, in the presence of Brother Nissen, promised to agree to whatever the majority might decide to-night (Brothers M. Wood, Tim Fogarthy, I. Blake and Michell). The Brethren present were: Fleischer, Otto, Hoff, Klein, Wadskiaer, Melstedt, Nannestad, Wasso, Schmerber, Morch, Raupach, Rotgers, Pieterson, Kruger, Kalhauge, Stenerson, Schifter and Nissen. During the discussion about a proper house for the Lodge, B. Hoff offered his house for sale on the following terms: (a) 10,000 rd. for the house of which 5,187 rd. to be paid to him within 8 years, and the rest, also within 8 years, to Brothers Holte and Raupach, all with interest to be calculated from the day of transfer. (b) Brother Hoff gets second mortgage and Brothers Holte and Raupach first. (c) The Lodge pays expenses for papers concerning the transfer.

Brothers Fleischer and Melstedt moved a vote of thanks to W. Brother Gravenhorst for pains taken in getting the Charter for the Lodge and immediately to refund expenses borne by him in Copenhagen for the interior fixtures for the Lodge. They further proposed to build a Lodge-house, Brother Stenersen as architect. Put to the vote: to buy or to build, it was decided by majority to buy Brother Hoff's house on terms as above. The vote of thanks to Brother Gravenhorst was carried, and it was decided to refund him

immediately the expenses mentioned, through a subscription which should also cover the necessary expenses for the interior fixing of the Lodge. Brother Gravenhorst was asked especially to supervise this work. It was further decided that Brothers Fleischer, Stenersen and Meldstedt on behalf of the Lodge should close the purchase and that all present and future Brethren should be responsible for their quota of the purchase sum until same was paid in full, their signatures in the minute-book being the proof of their assent. Brother Wood, who arrived late, took part in the voting and signed the minutes. Brother Shifter undertook to get all necessary papers fixed in a legal manner."

Anno 5003, February 7th, the Brethren were present in Brother Hoff's house, summoned by Brother Gravenhorst. Eleven Brethren absent. The W. Brother Gravenhorst, as reason for having summoned the meeting, presented to the Brethren the Royal Council's letter to him of February 4th in which the Council, on account of a proposal from the General in Command, asks the Lodge to give up the house recently bought from Brother Hoff and to sell it to His Majesty and thereby make it possible to complete the intended hospital. After deliberations and discussion by the twelve Brethren present it was agreed to give up the newly-bought house on condition that His Majesty take over the Lodge's obligations towards Brother Hoff or in some other way satisfy him, and towards Brothers Holte and Raupach, in order to free the Lodge from any obligation with regard to the purchase cancelled, and that His Majesty pay in cash 625 rd. D.W.C. as compensation for house rent the Lodge will have to pay until another house can be obtained, and that His Majesty empower the Lodge to, free of charge, select from grounds belonging to the State a parcel to be used for the Lodge and as property of the Lodge, that the Lodge can there erect a Lodge Building.

Further: Brothers Hoff, Holte and Raupach declared that if they received cash from His Majesty for their claim in the house, they would each of them let the Lodge have as a loan the half and pay that amount down cash right away, thus enabling the Lodge to start immediately the building of a house, on the condition that the Lodge, when the building be completed, give them mortgage on same for this loan of 5,000 rd. W.I.C. and promise to pay them in five years with necessary interest, 1/5 a year from the completion of the building, and that the Brethren be responsible for the money until the house is built and the necessary papers made out.

The W. Brother Gravenhorst decided to make the Royal Council in St. Thomas acquainted with the decision of the Lodge. The Minutes are signed by the Brethren present.

Anno 5803, April 2nd came together, summoned by the W.M., in the rooms rented from Auditor Lind, the said rooms to be fixed for keeping Lodge there under the new Charter received through the W.M.

Of those who signed the summons, twelve were absent. The W. Brother Gravenhorst announced that he to-day week at 5 p.m. would consecrate the new Lodge and asked all the Brethren to attend in full Masonic clothing. He then asked the Secretary to read out the instructions from the Directorium, which he then signed.

The Secretary then read an application from Johan Adolph Gravenhorst for admittance into the Order, recommended by Brother L. W. Klein, and it was decided to initiate him on the day of consecration in order to make this still more solemn. It was decided to keep a "Taffel Lodge" on the following day, Easter Sunday, and to invite all the Brethren. The W.M. gave an account of his expenses in Copenhagen for account of the Lodge and for the arranging of the

Lodge now; vouchers showed the amount of 1870 rd. 3 st. W.I.C., after which it was decided to send around a circular in order to ascertain the real number of members and thus be able to fix pro rata the expenses. To go over the vouchers presented by the W.M. were appointed BB. Kruger and Pietersen. Signed: Gravenhorst.

This is the last entry in the Minute-Book kept by the Daughter-Lodge "Enigheden" ("Unity"), and we shall now from other sources see what can be found out about the history of this Daughter-Lodge. To judge from the Minute-Book, Brother Gravenhorst went to Europe in April, 1800, in order to obtain for the Daughter-Lodge a Charter as a Regular Lodge, and this voyage was in agreement with the other Brethren. We have still a letter of September 9th, 1800, dated Copenhagen, from Gravenhorst to Brother von Schelton in which he makes excuses for not having written earlier, but his trip to Hamburg and other places was the reason. "I will hardly get the charter in a month but the petition has gone to Prince Carl and I am buying the necessary articles for the Lodge all of which, accompanied by the charter, will be dispatched with Brother Pieterson. I have spoken to the proper authorities about the French 'Vinkel Lodge' and expect an order about discontinuing its work."

He did not get the Charter as quickly as he had hoped; in fact, we do not know when it was finally signed, but probably not until the first half of 1802, and Gravenhorst himself had then probably brought it back, which seems evident from what he said at the meeting on the 12th January, 1803.

A note in reference to the Charter is still in existence, dated 9—9—1800, that is the same date as Gravenhorst's letter to von Scholten, and from which we can see that the first intention was to name the Lodge: "Carl to Unity." In another note we find that the fee for the Charter would be 100 Rd. On the 26th of June, Gravenhorst, still in Copenhagen, signs a power of attorney for the W. Bro. Major Stie Tonsberg Lasson as representative for the Lodge at the Directorium in Copenhagen. This document is furnished with the seal of the new Lodge.

On the 9th of July Gravenhorst sends from Altona a letter to Bro. S. T. Lasson stating that in Slesvig he has received from Brother Licht (Secretary of Prince Carl) the installation ritual with the address. He expects to remain in Altona for ten days more and gives as his address Mr. Caspar Warnholz. He does not think that he will be able to leave Europe until the end of August. We do not know the route Gravenhorst chose for his return, but he landed in St. Thomas on December 31, 1802.

We do not know when the French "Vinkel Lodge," which is mentioned at the meetings of "Enigheden" of July 3, and August 13, 1799, started. But a Draft of its Minutes of a Meeting held at the latter part of 1793 is still in existence. By this it appears that the Lodge worked under "les auspices de la Maçonnerie en France," without, however, mentioning the particular Grand Lodge or Grand Orient. Consequently it can hardly be this Lodge which in 1792 is said to have obtained permission from the G.L. in Pennsylvania to work for six months in St. Thomas.

The intention to procure the discontinuance of this Lodge through the supreme authorities was probably abandoned, or it met with difficulties. It is most likely that Gravenhorst postponed the necessary steps until he reached Copenhagen. We know from his letter to von Scholten that he brought up the question. But when he sent his letter to von Scholten he could not know that von Scholten had already given up the office as W.M., and retained—as we shall see—a certain friendly relation with the French Lodge and Brother Renauldon; and after having received Gravenhorst's letter he quite likely warned Renauldon, who then decided voluntarily to dissolve the Lodge. This we may gather from a letter from Renauldon to von Scholten, dated the 10th day in the 11th Masonic month in the year of the True Light 5800 (October 1st, 1801). Amongst other things he mentions that the Lodge had ceased to work on the 8th of the same month and would meet only as a committee in order to arrange its pecuniary

affairs, and that he had sent a notice to that effect to "Holy Cross" in St. Croix. "The unhappy French Lodge shall not any longer worry anyone." He adds as a Masonic secret that the three Jews who still remained in the Lodge voted against the dissolving of the Lodge till "the columns were thrown down by the bayonet." But they were in the minority.

Some earlier letters from Renauldon to von Scholten show us that the connection between the two Lodges was not entirely severed during the time von Scholten was W.M., in spite of the decision made at the meeting of August 12th, 1799. The Minutes for the meeting of May 3rd, 1800, show even that there was not anything shocking in the idea of sharing rooms with the French Lodge. In a letter of May 10th, 1800, Renauldon asks von Scholton to give him a Masonic audience on the following Sunday, a day "he hopes that von Scholten will not be occupied by his profane work." Renauldon wishes to discuss with him Masonic matters in general and the two Lodges in particular.

In another letter, about three weeks later, von Scholten is invited to be present at a M.M. Lodge in the French Lodge. We do not know if von Scholten accepted this invitation, but we know for certainty that he several times visited the French Lodge. We read in a letter (the one about dissolution of the French Lodge): "Enclosed please find your certificate which you were noble enough to wish endorsed by the V.W. Lodge Des étrangers réunis. You will see that we have done it in an extraordinary manner as it is signed by the W.M. as well as by the two Wardens. This to show you that the Lodge is grateful that you sometimes were our guest. It would indeed have been happiness to have seen you at all our meetings, if that had been possible. The Lodge assures you through me of its highest esteem."

Renauldon does not give up entirely the idea of continuing the Lodge, though not on the same lines. Only six days after his announcement of the discontinuation of the work of his Lodge he writes von Scholten the following:—"I had yesterday a discussion with Bro. Beaudouin about the possibility of an amalgamation of the two Lodges, and as we judged it necessary to bring about a meeting between the W.M. Hoff and me, and as Hoff does not speak French, and I still less Danish or English, we beg to ask you, if it would please you, to allow us to arrange such a meeting at your residence on Sunday 10-11, and that you would be umpire in the proposal which I have framed and will lay before Brother Hoff."

Nothing positive resulted from these discussions if they ever took place, but the relations between Renauldon and von Scholten remained undisturbed.

Besides the three St. John degrees Renauldon must have had some French higher degrees, the highest probably being the "Rose-Croix Degree." Before the dissolution of the Lodge he signed himself J. B. Renauldon, A. Vbl. de la L.·.des Mac.·.Etr.·.R.·., but after the death of his Lodge his signature is:—Fr.·.J. B. Renauldon A R.·.†.·. & a.·. & a.·.

The knowledge of this Rose-Croix degree he must have offered von Scholten, for he writes in a letter of June 20, 1801:—

> "I am sending you, my commandant, the booklet which I mentioned "to you yesterday and ask you to copy it at your earliest convenience "and not to show it to any mason who has not got this degree, neither "to any 'Rose-Croix' till you have got a certificate stating that you "belong to a Chapter. I send you further my Bijoux which I should "like to sell, and for which I have been offered, parole d'honneur, "$64. I want $80. It is a very fine Bijoux, and I would be happy "to give it to you if circumstances allowed me to do so, but I am in "need of all my small resources. It would indeed be very flattering "to me to know that you were in possession of it. You will see from "its aspect that it is a Bijoux for all the degrees. It stands me in "$100, and I consequently shall lose $20 selling it for $80. You will "do me a favour in buying it. You shall not need any other Bijoux "never mind what degree or Lodge you attend."

We can judge from this that Bro. Renauldon has been rather hard up, and it is just possible that Bro. von Scholten from sheer pity did buy the said Bijou (Renauldon spells it constantly "Bijoux") and the French rituals for the different degrees. At all events, there is still existing in Copenhagen a protocol containing rituals and catechisms in French for the following degrees:—Apprentifs, Compagnons, Maîtres, Maîtres parfaits, Parfait Maçon élu, Élu de Perignan, Élu de Quinze, Petit Architecte, and Chevalier de l'Epée and de Rose-Croix. Further some booklets for the St. John degrees, Maître ecossois de St. André d'ecosse and Souverain Prince de Rose-Croix. This last is possibly the ritual mentioned in the letter above, but it is in many points different from the one we find in the protocol named: Chevalier de l'Epée & de Rose-Croix.

All these rituals and all the letters from Renauldon are in French, and form a unit, and from a label on the protocol we can see that it all belonged to Chamberlain Fritz von Scholten, possibly a son of C. W. von Scholten. We have further a French Masonic song written by: "Un jeune homme de Nantes," and one more letter, in French, dated St. Thomas the 22nd day of the 10th Masonic month 5801 (Dec. 22, 1801). In this letter von Scholten—here cabled van Scholten á St. Jean—is invited by some Masons of this Order to celebrate with them the feast of the Patron on the 27th of Dec. The letter states that those Masons would feel much flattered if he would be present. The letter is signed: The Committee. Toulonzan R∴†E. Merel. F. Privat.

These three signatories must have been members of the discontinued French Lodge, who seem to have kept up Masonic meetings, without holding a real Lodge. We know that Toulonzan visited the Lodge "Unity" Nov. 5, 1800, and still later we meet the name of Privat in the Lodge "St. Thomas to Unity."

We shall now tell what we can find about the Regular St. John Lodge "St. Thomas to Unity." Here also the one existing Minute-Book is almost our only source. The other material is scanty, though it gives us a few interesting facts:—

> Anno 5803 April 9th, all the Brethren were invited to attend the consecration of the regular Lodge "St. Thomas to Unity." Forty Brethren were present. The W.M. gave the consecration address, clothed himself with the signs of honour which according to the ritual were his, and installed the following officers:—

Bro.	Von Holten	S.W.
,,	Krüger	J.W.
,,	Stenersen	Orator.
,,	Wadskiaer	Secretary.
,,	Hoff	Treasurer.
,,	Pieterson	Master of Cerem.
,,	Klein	Almoner.
,,	Kumnurle	Economa.

> The Secretary then read the Charter of Constitution, after which the S.W. read an address written by the Orator who himself was unable to read it on account of his weak chest. The ceremony of Consecration was closed as demanded in the ritual. An Apprentice Lodge was opened and a petition from the profane Enevold Christian Wilhelm Engholm was read. This petition, recommended by BB. Hoff and Rumnurle, was accepted. The Apprentices left the Lodge and petitions from BB. Nannestadt, Wartha and Rotgers for passing were read and granted. A Conference Lodge was opened, and the profane Johan Adolph Gravenhorst was discussed, found worthy and then initiated in the usual manner. His proposer was Almoner Klein. Bro. Waswo announced that he would be leaving the following day for Europe and deposited a gift in the charity-box where in

all were deposited that night 27 rd. 2 rl. 3 st. after which the Lodge was closed.

Gravenhorst. Krüger. Wadskiaer,
Secretary.

The succeeding Minutes are all alike with regard to petitions from profanes, initiations and advancements. We will, therefore, not go further into details as far as such work goes, nor give the names of proposers. At the other meetings the absent Brethren are as a rule mentioned by name. We will simply give the number:—

Anno 5803, April 27. An Apprentice Lodge was held. Twenty eight Brethren and 3 Visiting Brethren present. Petition from Hendrich Wulff Hendricks for initiation, and from Peter Gandy (Gandi) for acceptance as Serving Brother; both accepted. Petitions granted BB. I. P. Nissen and L. W. Meyer (Meier) for passing, and Bro. Melstedt for raising. Soren Jensen and Elias Heneson Schouw were accepted in a Conference Lodge and then initiated. Charity-box: $13.20.

(At initiations and advancements the protocol is generally signed by the initiated or advanced Brethren together with the W.M., the Wardens and the Secretary.)

Anno 5803 May 3. An Apprentice Lodge was opened. Present thirteen Brethren and one Brother Visitor. Nine Brethren absent. The Lodge was then opened in the 2nd degree and BB. Nannestadt and Wartha were passed. Petition from Bro. Kalhauge for raising was granted. Instruction. Charity-box: $7.50.

Anno 5803 May 7. A Fellowcraft Lodge was held. Twelve Brethren and one Bro. Visitor present. BB. Shrifter's and Dancker's petition for passing. Serving BB. Jensen and Schouw passed. Instruction postponed. Charity-box: $2.3 rl.

Anno 5803 May 14. Fellowcraft Lodge. Present were thirteen Brethren and two Bro. Visitors. Two BB. excused. Ten absent, BB. Rotgers and L. W. Meier passed. Charity-box: $4.50.

Anno 5803 May 27. Fellowcraft Lodge. Present were twelve Brethren. Brothers Nissen and Dencker passed. Charity-box: $7.3 rl.

Anno 5803, June 3. An Apprentice Instruction Lodge held. Seventeen Brethren and four Br. Visitors present. Nine BB. absent. G. Goldmann applies for initiation. H. W. Hendricks and P. Gandi were initiated, the latter as Serving Brother. Instruction postponed because of the late hour. Charity-box: 16 rd. 4 rl. 3 st.

Anno 5803, June 21. An Apprentice Lodge was opened, then a Fellowcraft Lodge. The Fellowcrafts retired and a petition from Bro. Svend Rotgers for raising on account of his pending trip to Europe was read. Granted. The Lodge was then opened in the third degree, and Bro. Svend Kalheuge was raised. Charity-box: $3.

Anno 5803, July 1. An Apprentice Lodge was opened. Petition from Bro. Nissen for raising. One of the Master Masons expressed his doubt as to the fitness of raising a Bro. who had been passed so shortly. The majority of the Master Masons had no objection, but the W.M. postponed any final decision until later. C. Goldman was then initiated. Charity-box: $4.6 rl.

Anno 5803, July 13. An Apprentice Lodge was opened and then a Master Mason Lodge. Petition for raising from Bro. Svend Dencker granted on account of pending leaving. BB. Melstedt and Rotgers were raised. Instruction. Charity-box: $5.

Anno 5803, July 20. The Lodge was opened in the three degrees and Bro. Dencker raised. Charity-box: $6.

Anno 5803, August 4. The Lodge was opened in the three degrees. Petition from Bro. L. W. Meier for raising. Granted, provided proof be given of his leaving. Serv. Bro. Soren Jensen raised. Instruction postponed. Charity-box: $1.13 old rl.

Anno 5803, Aug. 5. Ordinary monthly meeting. Address of the W.M. on a Mason's duties in general. Instruction. Charity-box: $3.

Anno 5803, Sept. 24. Nine Brethren met, summoned by the Wardens by permission of the W.M. It was decided, and approved by the W.M. that the Wardens should send a circular to the seventeen BB. who had not yet paid their part of the expenses at the fixing of the Lodge requesting settlement within fourteen days, otherwise the other Brethren would take whatever measures they might deem necessary. As Bro. Landett had solemnly stated that he was unable to pay his part and that he only by mistake had signed the circular, which he thought to be the usual summons [probably it was the circular which it was decided to send out at the meeting of April 2 of the same year in "Unity"] and that he immediately had stated his mistake to BB. De Lage and Salgues and through them to the W.M. and the Treasurer, it was unanimously decided to exempt him from this payment provided he paid his arrears and became a contributing member of the Lodge. (All the Brethren present signed the Minutes, but among them there were none of the Brethren who were in arrears except the above-mentioned Landett who perhaps was summoned to give explanations.)

Anno 5803, Sept. 30. The Lodge was opened in the first and then in the 2nd degree. Twelve Brethren were present, thirteen absent. Petition from Bro. Cronenberg to be passed. BB. Shrifter and Gandi passed to the second degree, the latter as Serving Brother. Bro. J. C. Morch who on account of illness met for the first time in the Lodge, left the Temple with the W.M.'s consent, suffering from an attack of "his old well known ailment." Before the Lodge was closed, the Treasurer said that Lawyer Engholm asked for a definite answer as to when he would be initiated as he had been accepted since April 9th. The W.M. put once more his petition to the Lodge, and all were in favour, the W.M. fixing the following Oct. 7th for his initiation. Charity-box: $5.8 old reals.

Anno 5803, Oct. 7. Apprentice Lodge. Eleven Brethren present, seven absent. The W.M. asked if the BB. still were willing to accept the profane Mr. Engholm. Answer affirmative. Engholm initiated. Brother Secretary asked to be relieved from his office as he was going to Europe. The petition was granted, and Bro. Kalhauge was elected in his place. The W.M. proposed to keep "Taffel-Lodge" once a month, which was approved by the majority. Instruction. Charity-box: 3 rd. 1 rl.

Anno 5803, Nov. 4. Apprentice Lodge. Eleven BB. present and one Brother Visitor; ten Brethren absent. The W.M. gave a lecture on Masonic duties and advice was given as to their correct discharge. Instruction. Charity-box: 3 rd. 1 rl.

Anno 5803, Dec. 2. Apprentice Lodge. Fourteen Brethren and one Bro. Visitor present; 13 Brethren absent. The W.M. gave a lecture on the discharge of Masonic duties and on the various reasons why profanes in general desired to become Masons. Instruction. Charity-box: $3.40 st.

Anno 5803, Dec. 16. The Lodge opened in the three degrees. B. L. W. Meier and Serv. B. Gandi raised to the third degree.

Anno 5804, Jan. 6. Apprentice Lodge. Ten Brethren present, four excused, eleven absent. Bro. Blake declared verbally to Serv. Bro. Jenson (probably when the usual summons was

presented to him) that he would no more attend to anything concerning the Lodge. Instruction and reading of the rules for a Taffel Lodge. The Treasurer, Bro. Hoff, presented the accounts for 5803: Credit 3144 rd. 5 rl., Debit 2577 rd. 3 rl. Cash 567 rd. 2 rl. Arrears 1140 rd. 78 st. By letter Bro. Treasurer Hoff asked to be relieved of his office. Petitions from BB. Nannestad and Nissen for raising were granted. The W.M. warned the Brethren to be more punctual in their attending to the opening of the Lodge. "Bro. V. Holten mentioned about a Brother who had been discharged from the military service and who was in distress and asked if the Lodge could not possibly help him away. The W.M. promised to see about it." Charity-box: $1.10 old reals.

Anno 5804, Jan. 26. The Lodge was opened in the three degrees. Petition from Gottlieb Fried. Smidt for initiation granted. Bro. Nannestad raised. Instruction. Charity-box 5 rd. 7 rl. 2 st.

Anno 5804, Jan. 31. The Lodge opened in the 3 degrees. Twelve Brethren and 3 Brother Visitors present. Six Brethren absent. Serv. Brothers Schoun and Nissen raised. Instruction. Charity-box: $1.7 st. The monthly meeting for the first coming Friday postponed.

Anno 5804, March 7. Apprentice Lodge. Fifteen Brethren and five visiting Brethren present, eight Brethren absent. Petitions for initiation from Peter Friestedt, Lieutenant Rasch, Matas and Bónnelykke. All granted. Bro. L. W. Meier was elected Treasurer and Bro. Nissen Oeconomus. G. F. Schmidt initiated. Charity-box: $10.15 st.

Anno 5804, March 14. Apprentice Lodge. Fourteen Brethren and three visiting Brethren present. Six Brethren absent. Francisco Matas and Peter Friestedt initiated. Charity-box: $19.35 st.

Anno 5804, March 21. Apprentice Lodge. Sixteen Brethren present, ten absent, two of whom offered excuses. Christoph Theodor Nielsen Dragset and B. Kortlang petitioned for admission. Both granted. Lieutenant Constantius Rasch and Mads Bónnelykke initiated. Charity-box: $4.66 st.

Anno 5804, April 6. Apprentice Lodge. Thirteen Brethren present, six excused, five absent. H. Kierrumgaard petitioned for admission and Bro. Raupach for passing. Granted. Bro. Engholm petitioned for passing. Granting postponed. C. F. N. Dragseth & Bernard Kortlang initiated. Instruction postponed on account of late hour. Charity-box: $12.62 st.

Anno 5804, April 20. Apprentice Lodge. Thirteen Brethren present, one excused, twelve absent. Hans Christian Kierrumgaard initiated. Instruction. Charity-box: $2.45 st.

Anno 5804, May 4. Apprentice Lodge. Eleven Brethren and three Visiting Brethren present; three excused, fifteen absent. Bro. V. Holten asks the Lodge to grant the help asked for Bro. Schiafer (Jan. 6. 04) as the Brother was about leaving. Granted. Charity-box: $3.11 st.

Anno 5804, June 1. Apprentice Lodge. Fifteen Brethren present and 4 Visiting Brethren. Six Brethren absent. Bro. Rasch asks to be passed as he is leaving shortly. Granted. F. D. Meyer & Mathias Michael Ladensack petition for admission. Granted. Bro. Goldmann wishes to be erased but as he does not give his reasons the Secretary is ordered to write him to find out the reason why, so that the Lodge might be able to take action, and at the same time notify him that he cannot obtain a certificate until he reports his intention of leaving the island. The W.M. then read several *rules and articles on Freemasonry*. Instruction. Charity-box: $3.20 st.

Anno 5804, June 8. Lodge opened in the first and second degree. Eight Brethren present and four Visiting Brethren. Six absent. Brothers Raupach & Rasch passed. Instruction. Brothers Brochmann & Mathaei proposed as active members. Granted. Charity-box $11.43 st.

Anno 5804, June 14. Apprentice Lodge. Twenty Brethren present and four Visiting Brethren. Six absent. The rules for "Taffel Lodge" were read. Friederich Ditlev Meyer & Georg Mathias Michael Ladensack initiated. Instruction. Charity-box: $6.10 st.

Anno 5804, June 29. Lodge opened in the first & second degrees. Eight Brethren present, eight absent. Bro. Gravenhorst being excused on account of illness, Bro. V. Holten acted. Bro. Cronenberg passed. Instruction. Charity-box: $3.

Anno 5804, July 6. Apprentice Lodge. Fourteen Brethren present, seven absent. Voucher read from Bro. Rossing for passage paid for Bro. Schiafer. Confirmed by the W.M. Bro. Bruggemann petitions for passing, "but as his pecuniary circumstances did not allow him just now, he received permission to wait until he was able to meet the necessary expenses." Instruction. Charity-box· $3.30 st.

Anno 5801, Aug. 3. Apprentice Lodge. Sixteen members and two Visiting Brethren present, twelve absent. Visiting Brother Anthony Phelhan from St. Andrew Lodge, New York, was examined by the Bro. Ceremony Master and proved to be a M.M. as his certificate stated. Bro. Lorentzon of "To the Holy Cross," St. Croix, petitioned to become a member which was granted. The W.M. read a letter from the Pro.G.M. in Curaçao, the W.M. Bro. Im. Jones, the Master of the Lodge Union there, recommending Bro. I. L. Brion to our Lodge. Instruction. Charity-box: $2.40 st.

Anno 5804, Aug. 10. Lodge opened in the first and second degree. Petition from F. N. Nygaard for admission, and from Bro. Schrifter for raising. Bro. Brüggemann passed. Instruction. Charity-box: $2.40 st.

Anno 5804, Aug. 24. The Lodge opened in the three degrees. Eleven members and four Visiting Brethren present, one excused, ten absent. Bro. Schrifter raised. Instruction. Charity-box: $10.21 st.

Anno 5804, Sept. 7. Apprentice Lodge. Nineteen members and six Visiting Brethren present, thirteen absent, of these one excused. Visiting Brothers I. de Latte & Privat petition to become active members of the Lodge, which was granted. Bro. I. A. Gravenhorst & Hendricks petition for passing. Granted. Peter Nicolay Nygaard initiated. Instruction. Charity-box: $5.10 rl.

Anno 5804, Sept. 14. Lodge opened in the first and second degree. Nine Brethren present, ten absent. Brothers Johan Adolph Gravenhorst & Hendrich Wulff Hendricks passed. Instruction. Charity-box: $9.15 st.

Anno 5804, Oct. 12. Apprentice Lodge. Twelve members and two Visiting Brethren present, five absent. The Visiting Brethren James Johnston of Lodge St. Andrew, Scotland, and Jan Sternenberg of the English Lodge in Bordeaux, proved by certificates that they had respectively the Royal Arch and the M.M. degrees. The certificates endorsed by the Secretary. The W.M. read rules for officers and other Masonic rules. Charity-box: $2.8 rl.

Anno 5804, Nov. 12. Apprentice Lodge. Fourteen members and two Visiting Brethren present, seven absent. Instruction. The Treasurer handed in a list, shewing seven members in arrears. The Secretary was ordered to write said seven members to settle their

accounts and to let them know that the Lodge would otherwise have to take more serious steps. Bro. Friestedt asks for Passing. Granted. Charity-box: $2.4 rl.

Anno 5805, Feb. 22. Apprentice Lodge. Fifteen members and three Visiting Brethren present, eight absent. The Visiting Brethren Hermann Bellmann, of Lodge No. 116, in England, and Johan Daniel Steinmetz of Lodge No. 57 in England had their M.M. certificates endorsed. Petitions were read from Jacob A. Meier, Hans Francke and Sand. Prom for admission. The result of the ballot proved unfavourable and the petitions could not be granted. Bro. Kortlang petitions for passing. Granted. Instruction. Charity-box: $7.40 st.

Anno 5805, March ? Lodge opened in the second degree. 11 Brethren and three Visiting Brethren present, 8 absent. The Visiting Brother Nansen showed certificate from Royal Arch Lodge No. 2, New York. Brothers Friestedt and Kortlang passed. Petition from Bro. Raupach for raising was granted. Charity-box: $4.

Anno 5805, April 5. Apprentice Lodge. Eleven members and four Visiting Brethren present, 8 absent. Instruction. Charity-box: $3.

Anno 5805, May 3. Apprentice Lodge. Twelve Brethren present, seven absent. Certain Lodge rules read. Instruction. Charity-box: 5\frac{1}{4}$.

Anno 5805, June 7. Apprentice Lodge. Sixteen members present and two Visiting Brethren, ten absent. The W.M. read rules concerning the Feast of St. John. Instruction. The Visiting Brethren I. B. Doyen & Charles Pererier, both of Lodge 87 old New York, had their Master Mason certificates endorsed. Charity-box: 4 rd. 5 rl. 3 st.

Anno 5805, July 5. Apprentice Lodge. Fifteen members present and three Visiting Brethren, five absent. Visiting Brother Ellion of Lodge No. 10, New York, showed his M.M. certificate. Petitions from Bros. Nyegaard & Dragseth for passing and for L. K. Heyliger for admission, all granted. It was likewise decided to admit the profane Hans Jorgen as Serv. Bro. Bro. Doyen wished to become a member of the Lodge, but any resolution was postponed as said Brother was not sufficiently known. Charity-box: $2.

Anno 5805, July 19. Apprentice & Receptions Lodge. 16 members and two Visiting Brethren present, eleven absent. Initiated: the profane Lucas K. Heyliger, age 24 years 7 mo., name of father Joanes, religion Reformed, living in St. Thomas, occupation Chief Clerk in the office of notarius publicus. Before the initiation his petition was once more granted in the usual manner. The W.M. then proclaimed that the officers were to be as follows:—Bros. Wadskiaer, S.W., Nannestad, J.W., L. W. Klein, Almoner, and Nissen, Master of Ceremonies. Instruction. Charity-box: $7.9 st. [This is the only case where the Minutes contain exact statements about the candidate's private life.]

Anno 5805, July 30. Fellowcraft Lodge. Eleven members and one Visiting Brother present, eight absent. Bros. Dragseth & Nyegaard passed. Charity-box: $7.20 st.

Anno 5805, Sept. 5. Apprentice Lodge. Eighteen members and four Visiting Brethren present. Three of the Visitors showed Certificates which were endorsed, namely, Bro. Heilshorn, W.M. of Lodge "Carl zum Felsen," Hamburg (Altona), Bro. Jens Johannesen, fellow of Lodge "La Charité," Amsterdam, and Bro. Johannes Balthazar Morch, apprentice of Lodge The Palmtree in the East (possibly "Christian to the Palmtree," Copenhagen). Petition from

Bro. Friestedt for raising was granted. Bro. Privat asks that Bro. Lairoze be admitted as a member of the Lodge. Instruction and reading of some rules for Freemasonry. Charity-box: $5.11 rl.

Anno 5805, Nov. 1. Apprentice Lodge. Fifteen members and four Visiting Brethren present. Three of the Visitors showed certificates, among these Bro. Haversaat, W.M. of the Lodge Sudermanie, No. 35, in St. Bartholomew (Swedish Lodge). Instruction. Charity-box: $3.22 st.

Anno 5805, Dec. 6. Apprentice Lodge. Fourteen members and 6 Visiting Brethren present. Written petition from Bro. Wadskiaer for underofficer Jens Wendelboe to be admitted as Serv. Bro., as he had the very best recommendations. Granted. Instruction. Charity-box: $3.5 rl.

Anno 5805 (Dec. ?). Conference Lodge. Six Brethren present, ten absent.

The owner of the Lodge premises was summoned and it was agreed that when the present contract expired the Lodge would continue to use these same rooms for a monthly rental of six johannes, provided the owner, Mr. Lind, relinquished 500 rd.

Brothers Klein, Meier & Schrifter were commissioned to the best of their ability to collect the arrears from the various Brethren who were behind in paying their dues. It was further decided that strange Brethren who wish to become members must pay $16—sixteen patacons—for their admission, besides the monthly dues.

Anno 5806, Jan. 4, 5.30. Apprentice & Receptions Lodge. Fourteen members and three Visiting Brethren present, seven absent. I. Wendelboe's wish to become Serv. Bro. was once more granted. Bro. Georg Friederich Haversaat's petition for becoming member of the Lodge was granted. From Bro. Doyen petition for admitting the profane Nicolay Roseau as member of the Lodge. No resolution was taken with regard to this petition as it was thought right to give the Brethren who did not know the applicant a chance to be acquainted with him, and become able to judge about his character. Instruction. Charity-box: $3.2½ st.

Anno 5806, June 6. Apprentice Lodge. Fifteen Brethren present, ten absent. The Bro. Orator read some rules of Masonry. Instruction. Charity-box: $2.5 rl.

Anno 5806, July 4. Apprentice Lodge. Twelve members present and four Visiting Brethren, nine absent. From the Five United Lodges in Hamburg were received two letters. Brothers Friestedt & Raupach were granted permission to be raised. Charity-box: $3.

Anno 5806, July 11. Conference Lodge. Six Brethren present (the Officers). Excuse from Bro. Wadskiaer. The W.M. announced that the object of this Conference Lodge was that Brothers Melstedt & Lorentzen had communicated that a member of the Jewish nation who lives here and is a Freemason had expressed the wish to visit the Lodge. Before declaring the conference open, the W.M. drew attention to the fact that the V.W.M. Guldbrand in Copenhagen had told him that in Denmark the Jews were not admitted to any Lodge. Brothers Nissen and Klein observed that the proposers Bros. Melstedt & Lorentzen were not present, and no decision was taken. The Lodge which had been open from 6-8 was then closed after it first had been decided to pass Serv. Bro. Wendelboe. [The Minute-Book does not show when Bro. Wendelboe was initiated, probably the 4th of January.]

Anno 5806, July 15. Lodge opened in the second degree. 13 Brethren present, seven absent. Serv. Bro. Wendelboe passed. Instruction. Charity-box: $1.6 rl.

Anno 5806, July 18. Master Masons Lodge. Bro. Raupach raised. Petition from Serv. Bro. Wendelboe for raising granted. Charity-box: $10.4 rl.

Anno 5806, July 24. 5.30. Master Masons Lodge. Eleven members and one Visiting Brother present [Bro. F. Meyer from "To the Holy Cross," St. Croix], nine Brethren absent. Bro. Joh. Peter Wartha & Serv. Bro. Wendelboe raised. Instruction. Charity-box: $6.9 st.

Anno 5806, Aug. 1. 5.30. Lodge opened in the three degrees. 14 members and one Visiting Brother present, four absent. The Visiting Brother, Joh. Fr. Nissen, produced certificate from "Concordia," Paramaribo-Surinam. Bro. Ludv. Petersen presented petition from the profane G. Einun for admission which was granted. The Fellowcrafts, Bros. Peter Friestedt & P. N. Nyegaard, were raised. Instruction. Charity-box: $10.3 rl.

Anno 5806, Sept. 19. 6 p.m. Apprentice Lodge. 13 Brethren present, 7 absent. Georg Leupul v. Einen initiated. Charity-box: $4.10 rl.

Anno 5806, Nov. 14. 5.30 p.m. Apprentice Lodge. Eleven Brethren present, four absent. Brother Melstedt presents petition from H. C. Gleerup for admission. Granted. Instruction. Charity-box: 1 patacon 5 rl.

Anno 5806, Dec. 19. 6 p.m. Apprentice & Receptions Lodge. 11 Members and five Visiting Brethren present, 8 absent. Hans Christian Gleerup once more granted admission and initiated. Instruction. Charity-box: $6½.

Anno 5807, Jan. 16. 5.30 p.m. Apprentice Lodge. Twelve Brethren present, one [Bro. Nannestadt] excused, four absent. Instruction. It was decided to keep a Taffel Lodge on the birthday of the Crown Prince, Jan. 28. Charity-box: $2.

Anno 5807, Feb. 5. Conference Lodge, as per summons. Subject: The wish of several French Brethren to join this Lodge and to work under the W.M. The petition was signed by Aveilhe and others. The letter which was not dated was read. Present were besides the W.M., Brothers Melstedt, Klein, Nissen, Meyer and Schifter. Of Visiting Brethren were present Aveilhe and five others. It was decided to elect two Brethren of this Lodge and two amongst the petitioners to discuss and—subject to the approbation of the W.M.—to decide on the conditions required before admitting the petitioners as members of this Lodge. The W.M. Melstedt and Schifter were elected to act in that quality on behalf of the Lodge. The petitioners who were present decided to elect amongst themselves two delegates to assist those elected by the W.M. in fixing the rules for their joining. The Lodge was then closed.

Anno 5807, Feb. (?). 5.15 p.m. "The undersigned Melstedt & Schifter met together as decided by the W.M. at the last Conference Lodge. Brothers Delatte & Cave were present at the meeting and produced power of attorney from the persons who had signed the petition which was read at the said Conference Lodge. They were then made acquainted with the conditions required for admitting them as members working under the W.M. of this venerable Lodge. Brothers Delatte & Cave then declared that it had not been their nor the other petitioners' intention to work under direction of our Lodge, but separately and following their own rituals. As recompense for being allowed to do so and for the permission to use our Lodge rooms they would pay one-half of the returns from their projected Lodge.

This declaration of Delatte & Cave, we, Melstedt & Schifter, deemed necessary to communicate to the W.M. and to that effect it

was decided to postpone this Conference Lodge till [no date] instant at 5 p.m." E. F. Schifter.

Anno 5807 [no date]. "We the undersigned were once more brought together on account of the decision taken in the last Conference Lodge and to communicate the ruling of the W.M. to Brothers Delatte & Cave, that the Lodge could not grant the petition. As Delatte & Cave had nothing further to propose the Conference Lodge was closed, and the results of the proceedings are to be communicated to the W.M. that he may be able to take further steps if he finds it necessary." E. Schifter.

Anno 5807, April 3. 5.30. Apprentice Lodge. Nine members and one Brother Visitor present. The W.M. read a letter from Lodge "Absalon" in Hamburg dated Aug. 9, 1806. Brother Nannestadt being sick, Brother L. Petersen was appointed J.W. *ad interim* and the Treasurer, Bro. L. W. Meier, who announced that he was going to leave the island was relieved of his office. Instruction. Charity-box: $1.55 st.

Anno 5807, May 1. 6 p.m. Apprentice Lodge. Eleven members and one Visiting Brother present. Six absent. Instruction. Charity-box: $1.6 rl.

Anno 5807, June 5. 6 p.m. Apprentice Lodge. Eight members and one Brother Visitor present, six absent. The Visiting Brother, Louis Lentz, showed his Masters Certificate from the G.L. of the State of New York. Petition through Bro. L. Petersen from C. F. Lind for admission as Serv. Bro. Granted. Charity-box: $1.3 rl.

Anno 5807, June 17. 5.30. Apprentice Lodge. Eight members and three Visiting Brethren present. After the E.A.'s and F.C.'s had been directed to retire a petition from Bro. Hendricks for raising was read. The Brethren did not find it right to raise this Brother just now, as he had not been present since the day he was passed, and it consequently was impossible to know if he was worthy of being raised to the Degree of Master Mason. The W.M. resolved that the petitioner should be raised according to his petition, but the day should be fixed later. Christian Friedrich was then initiated as Serv. Bro. Charity-box: $1.11 rl.

Anno 5807, Aug. 8. 5.30. The Lodge opened in the three degrees. 9 Brethren present, 9 absent. F.C. Bro. Hendricks raised with the consent of the Brethren. F.C. Bro. Kortlang petitioned for raising which was granted in the usual manner. Charity-box: $4.5 rl.

Anno 5807, Aug. 24. 5.30. Master Masons Lodge. Twelve members and three Visiting Brethren present, one absent. Brother Kortlang raised. Charity-box: $3.

Anno 5807., Sept. 9. 6 p.m. Apprentice Lodge. Nine members plus two Visiting Brethren present. Instruction. Charity-box: $2.6 rl.

Anno 5808, May 4. Apprentice Lodge. Ten members and one Visiting Brother present. Petition for admission from the profane Hjardemaal. Granted. Letter read from the Lodge "Concord," St. Vincent, stating the founding of said Lodge. Communication from "La Sincérité des Coeurs," St. Pierre, Martinique. Instruction Charity-box: $1.5 rl.

Anno 5808, May 18. Apprentice Lodge. Twelve members and two Visiting Brethren present. One Visiting Brother, Henrich Graval, showed Certificate from the Lodge "Vergenoeging," Curaçao. N.L. Hjardemaal initiated. Brother L. K. Heyliger asks for passing. Granted. Charity-box: $2.7 rl.

Anno 5808, May 27. E.A. and F.C. Lodge. Six Brethren present, seven absent. Bro. Heyliger passed. Charity-box: 4 rl.

Anno 5808, June 8. 5.30. Apprentice Lodge. Nine members and two Brother Visitors present, three absent. The W.M. read the rules for the feast of St. John. Instruction. Charity-box: $1.9 rl.

This is the last of the Minutes, and we shall now go over what other material we still are in possession of for throwing light over the history of the Lodge "St. Thomas to Unity." The reader will remember that Bro. Gravenhorst during his stay in Copenhagen in 1802 signed a power of attorney for Bro. Major S. T. Lasson as Representative for the Lodge at the Freemason Directorium. It is to be supposed that Bro. Gravenhorst now and then, in the course of the years, sent this Brother communications as to the life of the Lodge, and that Bro. Lasson had sent him communications from Copenhagen and had helped him in the discharge of certain duties, for instance, the buying of things necessary for the Lodge, paying bills, etc. We glean this much from letters still in existence. On 23rd of February, 1803, Gravenhorst writes about his happy return to St. Thomas, and continues:—

"Since my return I have done all in my power in trying to obtain "a suitable house for the Lodge & succeeded at last in buying one "from Bro. Hoff. But as the Government had bought the one next "to it for a hospital & as the proper Authorities did not find it "large enough for that purpose, I received a letter asking me to let "His Majesty have the one bought by me; & when we considered "the position next to a hospital & the possible trouble in store for "us if we did not sell to the King & may be we would have other "buildings raised close to us, we gave in & are still waiting the "answer from the Council. We have then decided to build a house "ourselves or rent a suitable one that we may be able to commence "the work, & as soon as this happens, it will be communicated to "the Lodge [in Copenhagen]."

In a P.S.:—

"Will it please the dear Brother Lasson to let Bro. Wandinge "[Serv. Brother of the Lodge in Copenhagen] buy twelve Aprons "& the necessary gloves & to send a note of the amount to merchant "Vogel in Christianshavn [Copenhagen]; he will then pay for those "things & for what else I may owe."

On the 15th of October, same year, is the following letter from Gravenhorst to Bro. Lasson:—

"I have the honour to communicate to the Venerable Directorium "that the Consecreation of the Lodge took place on the 9th of April. "On the 23rd of Feb. I had the pleasure to write you about my "happy return on the 31 of Dec. I asked in the same letter to let "Bro. Wandinge buy some Aprons & gloves. I ask further to "have a carpet for the First Degree bought [must be first Tracing "Board]. I would also like to have some large candles & a box "of smaller ones. Mr. Vogel, Christianshavn will defray the expenses. "The carrier of this is Bro. Wadskiaer, Secretary of our Lodge, "whom I beg to recommend to you. With greetings to our V.W. "Bro. Guldbrand, to you & to other dear Brethren I very respect-"fully remain your sincerely, Brother Gravenhorst."

In a letter of June 12th, 1804:—

"My last letter was of October 15, 1803, through kindness of Bro. "Wadskiaer, & I hope you have received it long ago, as we have "news of his arrival in Norway. I received last week my V.W. "Brother's letter of Nov. 23 '03 & the box & found everything in "best order, although the carrier, Captain Mildenstein, was taken

"to Tortola & the box had been opened. We received duly the "news of Bro. Schonheider's election to the Master's chair & heard "with deep regret why Bro. Hans Conrad Broer (Captain R.N.) laid "down the gavel. To be on the safe side I beg you to buy for me "12 aprons & twelve masters aprons as we cannot get any good "skin here. I would appreciate much one dozen printed certificates, "if possible Parchment."

Gravenhorst writes on July 14th, 1804:—

"The carrier of this is Bro. Eckhard who makes a business trip to "Europe. He was for years working here & came lately from "North America where he lived for a while, last as vice Consul "in Philadelphia. As this Bro. is a stranger in Copenhagen I "beg to recommend him to your friendship being convinced that "he will prove himself worthy thereof & I beg you further to "introduce him to our V.W. Brother Guldbrand & to several others "with my compliments. My last letter went with Captain Meinerts "who sailed on the 17th June. Fraternally & deeply respectfully "yours sincerely Gravenhorst."

It is not possible to see whether the Lodge in St. Thomas paid any annual dues to the Directorium in Copenhagen, but it at all events paid 7 rd. 16 sk. a year to the maintenance of the archives in Schleswig, the same amount as the Lodge in St. Croix paid. We know this from four still existing receipts for 1802-1805, and we can see that the amounts were paid through the Representative of the Lodge, Bro. S. T. Lasson.

The above cited letters can be supplemented by a bill for the effects which are mentioned in the letters and ordered by Bro. Gravenhorst. As this bill is not without interest we will give it in extenso. The L at the foot of it possibly stands for the name of the Representative, Bro. Lasson. The document is probably only a copy kept by Bro. Lasson, while the original, paid by merchant Vogel, was sent to the West Indies:—

An Entered App. carpet (paid to Bro. Cabott)	28 rd.	90 sk.
51 lbs. white candles @ 72 sk.	38	16
Emballage		64
21¼ lbs. white altar candles @ 76 sk.	17	02
Emballage		44
To Serv. Bro. Wandinge (transport)		48
Total	85 rd.	80 sk.
Further.		
To Serv. Bro. Wandinge for:		
12 Master Aprons @ 2 rd.	24	
12 App. do. @ 40 sk.	5	
12 certificate blanks @ 8 sk.	1	
a box		48
to himself for his trouble	1	
Total	117 rd.	32 sk.
Further.		
Archive-dues for this year St. John's Day	7	16
Total	124 rd.	48 sk.

Above mentioned effects are packed in 3 boxes and handed to Coffard. Captain Lange, Master of the ship PETRA, each box marked T.F.G., a letter dated Sept. 10, 1804, follows with a list of the members of the Lodges here.

Copenhagen, Sept 10, 1804.

L.

As it will be remembered, the last Minutes of the Lodge "St. Thomas to Unity" are from the meeting June 8, 1808, and our question must be: Did the Lodge then cease to work from that night? A yes will probably be the correct answer. It must be borne in mind that the Danish West Indian Islands were at that time occupied by England, and that the occupation lasted to about the year 1815. The result of this occupation was bound to interfere with the life of this little Danish Lodge, and we get the clearest impression thereof from the latest existent report from Bro. Gravenhorst, forwarded through the acting representative of the Lodge, Bro. Hegermann-Lindencrone. No letter nor report is found in the Copenhagen archives from the time between Gravenhorst's last cited letter of July 14, 1804, and following report of May, 1810, but beyond doubt communications were sent during the years 1805-1808.

The report runs:—

> "I am in this report attending to a very unpleasant duty, a duty "which hurts my feelings deeply. I have to beg to report to the "V.W. Directorium that the Lodge 'St. Thomas to Unity' has "ceased to work and is suspended for the present. To make a clear "exhibition of all the causes responsible for this sad necessity, painful "to the Brethren, and especially painful to me, would be too lengthy. "The nearest and also most important cause is the myriad of awful "misfortunes which during the last decade have happened to this "miserable, but formerly, so flourishing town. I do not know if "history has any similar case of a town which in so short a period "twice was captured and thrice burned down, and not alone this, "but the almost total stagnation of the formerly so active and vastly "expanded trade. The result was that a great majority of those "who had established themselves here left the Island, as it no longer "answered their speculative ventures, and amongst these were many "of our members. Those who stayed on were, so to say, also lost "to the Lodge as they on account of the miserable state of affairs "refused to attend to their duties as Brethren. The final capture "and occupation of the Island proved to be the death blow to the "Lodge and the Brethren who did meet were not sufficient even to "fill the necessary offices. The result was that the burden of keeping "it up became too heavy for the few remaining Brethren, therefore "the dissolution of the Lodge, or rather the temporary discontinuance "of its work became inevitable, not to speak of the futility of so few "Brethren keeping Lodge. It thus became the fate of this Lodge, "which raised its columns under such good auspices, to bow to the "grim necessity of dissolving itself on account of lack of members. "I would have written earlier about this to the Ven. Directorium, "had it not been for the difficulty during the present political con- "ditions of getting letters safely forwarded home. Bro. Hiardemaal "has promised to hand this in person.
>
> "Most submissively,
>
> "St. Thomas. May 12, 1810. A. Gravenhorst.
>
> "To the Ven. Freemason-Directorium, Copenhagen."

At a meeting of the Directorium on May 27, 1811, Brother Hegermann-Lindencrone was asked to find out where the protocols and other effects of the Lodge "St. Thomas to Unity" were deposited. There is nothing to tell us if any answer ever arrived. The Minute-Book of the Directorium for March, 1818, contains a note about Bro. Gravenhorst being in Copenhagen, and it was decided to invite him in the future to attend the meetings of the Directorium as Representative of his Lodge. But there is no statement in the Minutes of his having been present at any meeting, and he died the same year.

When Bro. C. H. Pram in the year 1820 was appointed Comptroller of Customs in St. Thomas he writes, previously to his departure, under date

March 6th of that year, a letter to the Freemason-Directorium in Copenhagen asking for Certificate and letter of recommendation:—

> "as it is known to me that at least in St. Croix there exists and works "a Lodge connected with the Lodges here. . . . Is it necessary "for me to add that I am not alone willing to receive and to the best "of my ability to execute whatever commission or order the Ven. "Directorium might entrust me with, be it Masonic communications "to the Lodge in Christiansted (St. Croix) or to the Brethren of the "Lodge in St. Thomas which is said no longer to be working, but "which possibly through the influence of a qualified and authorised "Brother might be revived? I am willing to do this or whatever else "I might be found worthy of, and I beg to say that whatever it "may be, I shall consider it an honourable fortune to be of any "service to the Order."

The Directorium's answer is of the 14th, same month. The letter commences by thanking Brother Pram for his work in "Zorobabel to the Northstar," whose second Orator he was for years, and informs him where to get the Certificate he asks for. It continues:—

> "Under 6th May 1818 a letter was sent to the Lodge 'To the Holy "Cross' in St. Croix to the address of Bro. Johannes Beverhoudt, "E.Z., asking him to elect amongst the Brethren here a Representa-"tive for the Lodge at the Directorium in Copenhagen vice the "deceased Bro. Jens Parelius Brown, Councillor and Director of "Auctions and to forward a list of members. No answer has been "received, and neither have we heard anything from the Lodge "'Unity' St. Thomas since its W.M. (our predecessor in the "Customs office, the V.W. Bro. Gravenhorst) died. The rumour is "that both these Lodges have ceased to work and as we consequently "do not know with whom we in the future must communicate we "ask you to be kind enough on your arrival to try to get us the "necessary facts, and if possible to revive these Lodges. This is our "deep wish and we give you full power to do by assistance of the "Brethren, whatever you, in conformity with the Rules and Regula-"tions of the Order, may find necessary to reach this goal. . . .
>
> "Hauch. D. Manthey. U. Warberg."

It is hardly possible to suppose that any positive result issued from the task with which Bro. Pram was entrusted, as he died the following year, being about sixty-five years old. From the following we know that at least once more the thought of the reactivity of the Lodge came up:—

> "We the undersigned Brethren beg to be permitted by the Ven. "Scottish Freemason Directorium (Copenhagen), to reestablish in St. "Thomas, Danish West Indies, the there formerly working St. John's "Lodge. To be, masonically and legally, entitled to do this work, "we petition the Ven. Directorium's permission:
>
> "(1). To revive the at present dormant St. John's Lodge in St. "Thomas.
>
> "(2). To work in the three St. John's Degrees after the present "rectified system—to admit and advance in the Degrees—affiliate to "Lodge—to enjoy and to exercise all the privileges which belong to "any perfect and regular St. John's Lodge.
>
> "(3). That the Lodge in St. Thomas on the strength of this may "work under the old Scottish Freemason Directorium here, and to "that effect retain its former Representative ven. Bro. S. T. Lasson, "in his absence, as before, ven. Bro. Hegermann-Lindencrone.
>
> "Hoping that the Ven. Directorium in fraternal kindness will "grant this petition and recommend it, we beg further to have the

"honour to receive the Ven. Directorium's full orders and regulations
"for the reestablished St. John's Lodge in St. Thomas.
"Fraternally and sincerely,
"[1] P. V. Scholten. Sommer. I. M. Magens.
"Copenhagen, Nov. 15, 1823
"To the Ven. Old Scottish Freemason Directorium, Copenhagen."

The answer of the Directorium is dated Dec. 8, 1823, and is favourable:—

"It is a great pleasure to us to grant your petition and we give you "full authority to do what you and the other local Brethren with "conformity to the rules and regulations of the Order judge to be "conducive to that end, and we empower you further to receive from "those concerned the Charter and all Rituals, protocols and documents, "belonging to the Lodge formerly, and its Archives. With best "wishes for a successful result of your endeavours we ask your "report on the organization of the Lodge and its members and "beg through you to convey our fraternal greetings. It would also "please us much if any news could be had from 'To the Holy Cross' "in St. Croix; we have not received any answer to our letter of "March 6th, 1818, sent to the address of Johannes Beverhoudt, E.Z.
"Hauch. J. M. Schonheider. F. W. C. L. Prince of Hessen-Philipsthal."

It does not seem that these three Brethren's efforts to revive the dormant Lodge in St. Thomas had any success; there is, at all events, no written statement to that effect. (I shall also here state the fact that W.Bro. John N. Lightbourn, P.M., Harmonic 356, whose memory is excellent, maintains that he, some years aback, saw in a St. Thomas Almanac for 1832 the name of Bro. Walloe mentioned as W.M. of a Danish Lodge, and he believes its name to be "Unity" or "Harmony," and he is under the sure impression that it was a Danish Lodge, and not the English Lodge "Harmonic 708—now 356—which was meant. He also saw on another occasion an old Visitors' Book of Lodge "Unity" in St. Thomas, containing quite a number of names. He was also informed by an old inhabitant once that many years ago there was a Danish Lodge kept in one of the back rooms on property No. 38, Main Street, which property he thinks was at one time owned by Councillor Walloe, who it is believed was the last Master of the Danish Lodge in these Islands. There does not appear to have been any Danish Lodge working in St. Thomas at the time of the consecration of the Harmonic in 1818, but the "Unity" revived and again worked in 1823, till it finally ceased to work about 1835. K.-H.)

When Bro. Chamberlain I. F. Bardenfleth and Bro. C. W. Jessen became respectively Governor General and Commandant in St. Thomas in 1821, the Directorium tried through these Brethren to hear about the Lodges in the Danish West Indies, but, as far as we can ascertain, no report of this kind ever arrived.

It has surely been a most difficult task for the Directorium to follow the events in these remote islands.

PERSONALIA.

Anthon Gravenhorst was born in 1754, son of Joh. Adolph Gravenhorst. As a young man he got employment in the Customs Department and was in 1786 promoted to Comptroller of Customs in St. Thomas and died as such in 1818, during a stay in Copenhagen. He was married twice, first to Miss Wrisberg, who died in 1802, and then to Esther Gartner, possibly a daughter of a warehouse inspector in St. Thomas. She died as a widow in 1868. A son of his first marriage, Joh. Adolph Gravenhorst, was the first Brother to be

[1] All three of St. Thomas. K.-H.

initiated in the Lodge "St. Thomas to Unity"; he was as far as we know a merchant and in company with another member of the Lodge, Bro. Klein. Some of the members took the noble name Lovenstierne to which they considered themselves entitled, and from some seals on letters from Bro. Anthon Gravenhorst we can see that he used the seal of the Lovenstiernes.

Joachim (Jochum) Melchior Magens was born in Dublin, and was probably initiated in the Lodge in St. Croix. He was on February 11, 1795, made a member of "Zorobabel to the Northstar," and was at that time Major and Judge in St. John. In 1817 we find him as Captain of the Militia in St. Croix, and he was later made advocatus regius in St. Thomas. He was owner of Lowerhill and Industry. Died in 1845.

Simon Petrus Hoff was first in the Customs Office in St. Croix, where he probably became a Mason; came later to St. Thomas, where he worked as cashier. He had from 1820 several public offices in St. Thomas.

Bent Christian Stenersen (in List No. 1 he is probably by mistake called Swen S). He was on the 17th April, 1781, initiated in "Zorobabel to the Northstar," and was then a Barrister-at-Law. In 1782 he was member of "St. Olaus to the White Leopard" in Christiania, and shortly after arrived in St. Thomas, as he in 1784 was member of the Lodge in St. Croix, but worked as a Lawyer in St. Thomas, till he was appointed Judge there. Died in Copenhagen 1828.

Johan Traugott Libricht Otto was born August 15, 1766, in Copenhagen; was Garrison Surgeon in St. Thomas until December 15, 1803, and later University Treasurer in Copenhagen. He was initiated in St. Croix, and became later member of "Zorobabel to the Northstar." A son of his was the well-known physician, Carl Otto, who was the last W.M. in Zorobabel, and the first W.M. of "Zorobabel and Frederik to the Crowned Hope," when this Lodge in 1855 was formed by amalgamation of the two Lodges "Zorobabel to the Northstar" and "Frederik to the Crowned Hope." He worked as W.M. for this Lodge (in Copenhagen) till 1874, and has a revered name in the history of Danish Masonry.

Carl Gotlieb Fleischer was in 1783 merchant in St. Croix, where he probably was made a Mason. He then became Harbour Master in St. Thomas, and for some time between 1820 and 1825, Commandant.

Joh. S. Malleville Wood was a merchant, but must also have had training as an Officer, as he in 1816 was appointed Captain and in 1817 made chief of the Cavalry in St. Thomas. He owned some estates in Little Northside quarter, St. Thomas (Sorgenfri).

Christian August Kruger was in 1779 chief clerk under the Customs in St. Croix, where he probably was made a Mason. He became later Royal Cashier, broker, etc., in St. Thomas.

Casimir Wilhelm v. Scholten, born in 1752, was Commandant in St. Thomas. He was initiated in the Lodge "Peace, Joy and Brotherly Love" No. 361 in Penryn, Cornwall, England. At a visit to the Lodge "Zorobabel to the Northstar," on February 12, 1803, he signs himself as member of the above-mentioned English Lodge, and probably he was never a real member of the Lodge "St. Thomas to Unity," although he for a while was W.M. of the daughter Lodge "Unity." He died in 1810. Of his sons, two, maybe three, were Masons: *Jost Gerhard v. Scholten*, initiated April 23, 1811, in "Zorobabel to the Northstar"; he became an officer in the West Indies and got a title in 1822. *Peder Carl Frederik v. Scholten* was born 1784; he began as a Second Lieutenant in the West Indies in 1803, was promoted to First Lieutenant in 1811, to Major 1816, "Stadthauptmann" in St. Thomas 1818 to 1824, Lieutenant-Colonel 1820, Intendant of Customs 1822, Chamberlain and Governor

ad interim 1824, General-Major 1829, and Governor-General 1836. Prominent in the negro revolt in St. Croix in 1847, after which he was sent home retired. Died 1854. He was initiated in "Zorobabel to the Northstar" on January 8th, 1812. (3) *Frederik v. Scholten* was an official in Frederiksted, St. Croix, at the time of the negro revolt. Like his brother, he was a Chamberlain, but we do not know if he was a Mason. It must have been one of these two last mentioned Brothers who left behind him the protocol previously mentioned. Both were named Frederick, of which Fritz may be an abbreviation.

Fr. Andr. Raupach. Born in Pommeren in 1760; garrison surgeon in St. Thomas 1803, promoted in 1814 to regimental surgeon. Initiated in the Lodge in St. Croix. Died in St. Thomas 1821.

Lars Nannestad, Comptroller of Customs in St. Croix, and from 1798 in St. Thomas.

Christian Ludvig v. Holten was born in 1774, came to St. Thomas as a First Lieutenant in 1796, appointed Commandant for St. Thomas and St. John in 1814, and Colonel 1817. Returned to Copenhagen 1825. Died 1829. Owner of the Estate Frydendal.

Ketil Johnsen Melstedt, Government Secretary, Captain and later member of the Royal Council, Notary Public in St. Thomas, Major 1808. He was born in Iceland 1766, and was killed in action March 26, 1811 (Anholt).

Lamberdt Wohlbrandt Klein, merchant and owner of the Estate Bonne Esperance. Initiated in St. Croix, and became in 1800, December 2, member of "Zorobabel to the Northstar," but returned later to St. Thomas, and became a member of the Lodge there.

Hans Kalhauge was chief clerk under the Customs in St. Croix, Bookkeeper 1802 in St. Thomas, and Inspector of Customs in 1805 in Frederiksted, St. Croix.

Johs. Severin Weyle, Judge in St. John, owner of Estates in Macobay quarter, St. Thomas, and Riffel Bay quarter, St. John.

Fr. Chr. v. Meley was in 1785 chief clerk under the Customs, in 1798 Surveyor and Building Inspector in St. Thomas, and had in this capacity a quarrel with Governor-General Muhlenfels, who suspended him from his office but had to re-appoint him.

2.

MEMBERS OR BRETHREN CONSIDERED AS MEMBERS OF "UNITY," ST. THOMAS.

NO.	NAME.	REMARKS.	FIRST ATTENDANCE.
1.	Anthon Gravenhorst	Controller of Customs.	Dec. 3, 1798.
2.	Bent Chr. Stenersen	Judge.	do.
3.	Peter Holte	Merchant & Broker.	do.
4.	Joh. Trangott L. Otto	Garrison Surgeon.	do.
5.	Austen Olsen	Lieutenant.	do.
6.	Troxell		do.
7.	Jochum Melchior Magens	Major & Judge, St. John.	do.
8.	John Herdmann		do.
9.	P.C. Marques		do.
10.	Joseph Blake (Blacke)	Estate Owner.	do.
11.	Simon Petrus Hoff	Custom Office Clerk.	do.
12.	Rob. Warren		do.
13.	P. H. Runnels		do.

2 (*continued*).

NO.	NAME.	REMARKS.	FIRST ATTENDANCE.
14.	J. P. Beaudouin	Physician.	Dec. 3, 1798.
15.	Carl Gottlieb Fleischer	Harbourmaster.	do.
16.	C. S. Gruner		Dec. 27, 1798.
17.	C. van Bergen	Estate Owner.	do.
18.	Paulus Moulin Morch	"Stadshauptmann."	do.
19.	A. W. Volkersen	Lutheran Minister.	do.
20.	A. Michel		do.
21.	Trochard (Troxard)	Catholic Priest, owner of "Frenchmans Bay" est.	do.
22.	Pietersen	Captain.	do.
23.	Johs. Malleville Wood	Planter.	do.
24.	Allicock		do.
25.	Jos. Guilbert (Gilbert)		do.
26.	Rich. Lawson'	"Stadshauptmann."	do.
27.	John Vetter		do.
28.	Peter Wood	Planter.	do.
29.	C. H. A. Kruger	Cashier, Royal appoint.	June 24, 1799
30.	Jens Christensen Morch	Acting Broker.	do.
31.	I. T. Eckard	Merchant, owner of "Havensight."	do.
32.	Samuel Milner	Owner of "Perseverance."	do.
33.	P. Waldkirch	Merchant.	do.
34.	H. Fournier		do.
35.	Jens Kirkerup	Merchant.	do.
36.	Francois Coltin		do.
37.	Chr. Huebert (Huber)	Physician.	July 3, 1799.
38.	Johan Peter Wartha	Owner of "Zufrieden-heit."	do.
39.	J. P. Kummerle	Lieutenant (Major 1814).	do.
40.	Johan Peter Nissen	Merchant.	Sept. 14, 1799.
41.	J. W. Rundt		Oct. 12, 1799.
42.	Johs. H. Rotgers	Merchant.	Oct. 12, 1799.
43.	Hendrich Cuyler		Oct. 16, 1799.
44.	Marx Evers		Jan. 1, 1800.
45.	Martin L. Ellis		do.
46.	Casimir Vilh. v. Scholten	Commandant St. Th.	do.
47.	Fr. Andr. Raupach	Garrison Surgeon.	do.
48.	A. H. Waswo	Merchant.	Mar. 19, 1800.
49.	Lars Nannestad		June 11, 1800.
50.	Thomas Fogarthy	Merchant.	do.
51.	Bankson		Aug. 6, 1800.
52.	Falk Daniel Chr. Castonier	Lieutenant (Col 1819).	do.
53.	Timothy Fogarthy	Merchant.	Nov. 5, 1800.
54.	J. J. Schmerber		do.
55.	N. Giellerup	Merchant.	Jan. 27, 1801.
56.	Chr. Ludv. v. Holten	First Lieutenant.	Jan. 12, 1803
57.	Ketil Johnsen Melstedt	Captain.	do.
58.	Enriche Augustin Wadskier	Clerk, Royal appt.	do.
59.	Lomberdt Wohlbrandt Klein	Merchant.	do.
60.	Hans Kalhauge	Bookkeeper, Royal appt.	do.
61.	Erasmus Friederich Schifter	Lawyer, Owner of "Raphune."	do.
62.	Esler		Apl. 2, 1803.

3.

VISITING BRETHREN, "UNITY," ST. THOS.

NO.	NAME.	FIRST VISIT.	REMARKS.
1.	Brown	December 17, 1798.	Probably J. P. Brown, "Holy Cross."
2.	Bradt.	July 3, 1799.	Probably C. F. Bradt, "Holy Cross."
3.	Jach. Fr. Sam Schuster	do.	Official, St. Croix.
4.	Renauldon	August 12, 1799.	*
5.	Aquart	April 9, 1799.	*
6.	N. Andonville	do.	*
7.	Johs. Heinrich Rotgers	do.	**Merchant.
8.	M. Krause	November 6, 1799.	
9.	Martin L. Ellis	do.	**
10.	Marx Evers	do.	**
11.	Johan Severin Weyle	January 31, 1800.	Judge, St. John.
12.	v. Frecht	do.	
13.	v. Thun	do.	Danish Naval Officer.
14.	A. H. Waswo	do.	**Merchant.
15.	John O. Ellis	do.	Owner "Altona" & "Welgens."
16.	Thomas Fogarthy	do.	**Merchant.
17.	F. Chr. v. Meley	April 11, 1800.	Surveyor and Building Inspector.
18.	H. D. Cronenberg	do.	Captain.
19.	I. I. Schmerber	do.	**
20.	Pasche	August 6, 1800.	
21.	Fr. Moth	September 3, 1800.	"Holy Cross."
22.	O. M. Flor	October 1, 1800.	
23.	Toulazan	November 5, 1800.	*
24.	Dunuy	do.	*
25.	Fougas, fils	do.	*
26.	C. W. Jessen	do.	"Holy Cross."
27.	Hans Stephansen	do.	"Z to N," Danish Naval Officer.
28.	Astrup	do.	Possibly Alstrup, "Holy Cross."

* Members of "Des Maçons Etrangères réunis."
** Became later members of "Unity."

OFFICERS OF "UNITY."

W.M. A. Gravenhorst; C.W. v. Scholten; S. P. Hoff; A Gravenhorst.

S.W. I. H. Magens; Hoff; Kruger.

J.W. Hoff; Kruger; A. Olsen.

Secretary. Stenersen; Kruger; P. M. Morch.

Orator. Stenersen; Eckhard.

Treasurer. Otto; Blake; Gruner.

Almoner. Runnels; P. M. Morch; P. Wood.

Director of Ceremonies. A. Olsen; Gruner (?).

Preparator. P. Holte.

4.

MEMBERS OF "ST. THOMAS TO UNITY," JUNE 24, 1804.

NO.	NAME.	OCCUPATION.	BIRTH-YEAR & DEGREE.	REMARKS.
1.	Anthon Gravenhorst	Controller of Customs.	1754.3.	W.M.
2.	Christian v. Holten	Captain.	1774.3.	S.W.
3.	Henr. A. Kruger	Royal Cashier.	1765.3.	J.W.
4.	Bent Chr. Stenersen	Judge.	1748.3.	Orator.
5.	Hans Kalhauge	Royal Bookkeeper.	1774.3.	Secretary.
6.	Ludwig W. Meyer	Merchant.	1775.3.	Treasurer.
7.	Ketil J. Melstedt	Captain, Com. Secy.	1766.3.	Dir. of Cer.
8.	Johan Peter Nissen	Merchant.	1767.3.	Econom.
9.	Berend Waldkirch	Merchant.	1774.3.	Almoner.
10.	Simon Petrus Hoff	Church Warden.	1763.3.	In Copenhagen.
11.	Enriche A. Wadskier	Clerk, Royal appt.	3.	——
12.	L. W. Klein	Merchant.	1768.3.	——
13.	Johs. Wood	Planter.	1762.3.	
14.	Peter Wood	Planter.	1773.3.	
15.	Nicolas de Luge	Merchant.	1742.3.	
16.	Thomas Fogarthy	Merchant.	1763.3.	
17.	Jean Pierre Boudevin	Physician.	1749.3.	
18.	Carl Gottlieb Fleischer	Harbourmaster.	1759.3.	
19.	Jean Baptist Salgues	Merchant.	1759.3.	
20.	Richard Lawson	Major.	1753.3.	
21.	A. H. Waswo	Merchant.	1767.3.	In Europe.
22.	Durevier	Merchant.	1744.3.	
23.	Johan Dencker	Merchant.	1762.3.	
24.	Johan Severin Weyle	Judge, St. John.	1759.3.	
25.	Lars Nannestad		1757.3.	
26.	Johan H. Rotgers	Merchant.	3.	In Europe.
27.	J. D. Laudett	Merchant.	1762.3.	
28.	E. Morell	Merchant.	1772.3.	
29.	Mattei	Clerk.	1780.3.	
30.	Erasmus F. Schrifter	Lawyer.	1775.2.	
31.	I. C. Morch	Acting Broker.	1766.2.	
32.	Johan P. Wartha	Planter.	1773.2.	
33.	Andreas Raupach	Garrison Surgeon.	1760.2.	
34.	H. D. v. Cronenberg	Captain.	1754.2.	
35.	Joh. Ad. Gravenhorst	Merchant.	1780.1.	
36.	Constantius Rasch	First Lieutenant, R.N.	1776.2.	off.
37.	Gottlieb Schmidt	Merchant.	1782.1.	
38.	Peter Friestedt	Governm. Clerk, act.	1777.1.	
39.	Mads Bonnelykke	Smith.	1770.1.	
40.	Frid. D. Meyer	Medical doctor.	1.	
41.	Georg M. M. Ladensack	Merchant.	1766.1.	
42.	Hans Chr. Kierrumgaard	Clerk.	1783.1.	
43.	Christophus Dragsett	Merchant.	1763.1.	
44.	Soren Jensen	Minor official.	1765.3.	Serv. Bro.
45.	Elias H. Schoun	———	1781.3.	——
46.	Peter Gandi *	Inn-keeper.	1770.3.	

* Owner (1807) estate "Godthaab," West End quarter.

5.

Besides those mentioned in 4, the following Brethren seem to have been members, or to have been considered as members of "St. Thomas to Unity," either before or after June 24, 1804:—

NO.	NAME.	REMARKS.	FIRST MEETING.
1.	Joseph Blake		April 9, 1803.
2.	Johs. Traugott L. Otto	Garrison Surgeon.	do.
3.	Esler		do.
4.	J. H. Kummerle	Lieutenant, later Major.	do.
5.	A. V. Volkersen	Lutheran Minister.	do.
6.	Th. de Malleville	Major, Commandant St. Thos.	do.
7.	L. S. Pieterson	Master Mariner.	do.
8.	Robert Warren		do.
9.	Henry Geyer		do.
10.	Joseph Freguglia		do.
11.	This Meinerts	Master Mariner.	do.
12.	Brink		do.
13.	Touscher		do.
14.	Marx Evers		April 27, 1803.
15.	Guilio Fini		do.
16.	Block	Possibly Math. Block, Planter, St. Croix, initiated May 15, 1799, "Z to N*."	do.
17.	Pedersen		do.
18.	Timothy Fogarthy		do.
19.	Figuire		do.
*20.	H. W. Hendricks		June 3, 1803
*21.	Chr. Goldman	Aide Gov. General.	July 1, 1803.
*22.	E. C. V. Engholm	Lawyer.	Octr. 7, 1803.
*23.	Francisco Matas		March 14, 1804
*24.	Bernhard Kortlung		April 6, 1804.
25.	F. L. C. Bruggemann	Officer, born 1764, affiliated 1810 with "St. Olaus to the White Leopard," Christiania.	June 14, 1804
26.	Brochmann	Possibly Mich. Brockmand, Broker, St. Thos.	June 8, 1804.
27.	Jacques Regnier		June 29, 1804.
28.	Henning Lorentzen	Bookkeeper, Col. Council.	Aug. 3, 1804.
29.	Joseph de Latte		Sept. 7, 1804.
30.	Francois Privat		do.
*31.	Peter N. Nyegaard	Translator.	do.
*32.	Lucas K. Heyligher	Clerk at Not. Pub.	July 19, 1804.
33.	Jean B. Doyen		Nov. 1, 1805.
34.	Philibert Michaut		do.
35.	Georg Fr. Haaversaat		April 1, 1806.
36.	Ludvig Petersen	Officer.	July 11, 1806.
*37.	Jens Wendelboe	Serv. Bro.	April 1, 1806.
*38.	Georg Leopold v. Einem	Major.	Sept. 19, 1806.
*39.	Hans Chr. Gleerup		Dec. 19, 1806.
40.	Fr. Lind	Serv. Bro.	June 17, 1807.
41.	N. S. Hjardemaal	Merchant, must have died a very old man.	May 18, 1808.

* Day of initiation.

6.

VISITING BRETHREN "ST. THOMAS TO UNITY."

NO.	NAME.	FIRST VISIT.	REMARKS.
1.	Esias Monefeldt	Apl. 29, 1803.	
2.	Rosenberg	May 15, 1803.	
3.	Frasinett (?)	June 3, 1803.	
4.	Nielsen	do.	
5.	Reguire	Nov. 4, 1803.	
6.	Halbert	Jan. 10, 1804.	
7.	A. Smith	do.	
8.	Brouchet	Mar. 7, 1804.	
9.	Andrieux	do.	
10.	Jacques Regnier	do.	Becomes a member later.
11.	Romberg	Mar. 14, 1804.	
12.	Koopmann	do.	
13.	Andro	do.	
14.	Le Blouch	do.	
15.	F. Rossing	May 4, 1804.	
16.	F. Chr. v. Meley		See List 3, No. 17.
17.	Generis	do.	
18.	Matthaei	June 1, 1804.	See List 4, No. 29.
19.	F. L. C. Bruggemann	do.	See List 5, No. 25.
20.	C. W. Jessen	do.	See List 1, No. 60 and List 3, No. 26.
21.	Rob. Gordon	June 8, 1804.	
22.	Joh. Henr. Rose	June 14, 1804.	
23.	Henrichs	Aug. 3, 1804.	
24.	Anthony Phelham	do.	Member "St. Andrew," N.Y.
25.	Savary	Aug. 24, 1804.	
26.	Andonville	do.	
27.	Rahlves	do.	
28.	Bebet	do.	
29.	Carl Thombsen	Sept. 7, 1804.	
30.	Joh. Cord Hallier	do.	Member "St. Georg," Hamburg.
31.	Anthony Relhan (?)	do.	
32.	I. B. Toulme	do.	"Parfaite Harmonie," Santo Domingo.
33.	Joseph Delatte	do.	List 5, No. 29.
34.	Francois Privat	do.	List 5, No. 30.
35.	James Johnston.	Oct. 12, 1804.	R.A.M. "St. Andrews," Scotland.
36.	Jean Sternenberg	do.	"Loge Anglais," Bordeaux.
37.	Bouligny	do.	
38.	Herman Bollmann	Dec. 2, 1804.	Lodge 116, England.
39.	Joh. Daniel Steinmetz	do.	Lodge 57, England.
40.	Nansen	Mar. 2, 1805.	R.A. Lodge No. 2, N.Y.
41.	Abrahamsen	Apl. 5, 1805.	Possibly L. A. Abrahamsen, "Z to N*."
42.	I. B. Doyen	June 7, 1805.	See List 5, No. 33, Lodge 87, N.Y.
43.	Charles Pererier	do.	Lodge 87, New York.

6 (*continued*).

NO.	NAME.	FIRST VISIT.	REMARKS.
44.	Mapabyen (?)	July 5, 1805.	
45.	Ellion	do.	Lodge No. 10, New York.
46.	Howitz	July 19, 1805.	
47.	Schutz	do.	
48.	Heilshorn	Sept. 6, 1805.	"Carl zum felsen," Altona.
49.	Jens Johannesen	do.	"La Charite," Amsterdam
50.	Joh. Balthasar Morch	do.	"The Palmtree to the East."
51.	Ludv. Petersen	Nov. 1, 1805.	See List 5, No. 36.
52.	Georg F. Haversaat	do.	"Sudermanie," St. Bartholomeus. See List 5, No. 35.
53.	I. B. Aveilhe (Aville)	do.	
54.	John Steen	Dec. 6, 1805.	
55.	C. H. Sontag	do.	"Zum rothen Adler," Hamburg.
56.	Muller	July 4, 1806.	
57.	Heykins	do.	
58.	Cramer	do.	
59.	N. W. Bergust	July 18, 1806.	Merchant, St. Thomas (Bergust & Ulhorn).
60.	F. Meyer	July 24, 1806.	"Holy Cross."
61.	Joh. Fr. Nissen	Aug. 1, 1806.	"Concordia," Paramaribo.
62.	Joseph Gamble	Dec. 19, 1806.	
63.	Geo. Jophan (Thopan)	do.	
64.	I. G. Haddoch	do.	
65.	Gruner	do.	See List 2, No. 16.
66.	Cave	Feb. 15, 1807.	
67.	C. P. Dons	Apl. 3, 1807.	"Holy Cross."
68.	Louis Lentz	June 5, 1807.	Grand Lodge, New York.
69.	J. E. Graval	May 18, 1808.	"De Vergenoeging," Curaçao.

The majority of the French-named Visitors belonged probably to "Des Maçons étrangers réunis." The same about List No. 3.

7.
WEST INDIAN BRETHREN VISITING COPENHAGEN LODGES 1778-1812.

NO.	NAME.	LODGE.	FIRST VISIT.	REMARKS.
1.	Martin M. Heyligher	Holy Cross.	May 19, 1779.	Aff. Z. to N*. Feb. 16, 1780.
2.	Peter H. Krause	do.	Nov. 3, 1779.	
3.	Johan Ferentz	do.	Nov. 10, 1779.	Aff. Z. to N*. Feb. 2, 1780,
4.	F. Chr. Trolle	do.	Nov. 17, 1779.	
5.	Jorgen Jessen	do.	Nov. 24, 1780.	
6.	Andr. Colding	do.	Jan. 24, 1781.	Aff. Z. to N*. May 8, 1782.
7.	Hans Collin	do.		
*8.	Mads Kirkegaard	do.	July 13, 1781.	
9.	Peter H. Koch	do.	Mar. 15, 1783.	Aff. Z. to N*. Feb. 2, 1803.
10.	Chr. Ewald	do.	Oct. 23, 1783.	
*11.	Joh. Conrad Dienhoff	do.	do.	
12.	Hans Kaas	do.	Feb. 25, 1784.	
13.	Joh. Chr. Schmidt	do.	Nov. 3, 1784.	Aff. Z. to N*. Mar. 7, 1787.
14.	Ad. v. Kohl	do.	Nov. 24, 1784.	
15.	P. Erland Hoffgaard	do.	do.	Aff. Z. to N*. Oct. 12, 1785
16.	Fr. Saltwedel	do.	Dec. 8, 1784.	
17.	Trolle	do.	Sept. 15, 1785.	
18.	H. Rasmussen	do.	Oct. 12, 1785.	Aff. Z. to N*. Nov. 5, 1791.
*19.	S. Plockross	do.	do.	
20.	Bendecke	do.	do.	Aff. Z. to N*. Oct. 26, 1791.
*21.	H. Zimmermann	do.	Dec. 14, 1785.	
*22.	Chr. F. Kipnasse	do.	Dec. 21, 1785.	
23.	I. (?) C. (?) Flemming	do.	Feb. 4, 1789.	
24.	Dollner	do.	Apr. 17, 1793.	Aff. Z. to N*. Oct. 15. 1794.
25.	I. M. Magens	do.	Sept. 15, 1794.	Aff. Z. to N*. Feb. 11, 1795.
26.	F. W. Berg	do.	Nov. 11, 1795.	
27.	A. Gravenhorst	do.	do.	
28.	I. Kirkerup	do.	do.	Aff. Z. to N*. Apl. 23, 1811.
29.	Hans Cramer Winding	do.	Jan. 20, 1796.	
30.	Jens Ferslew	do.	Apr. 10, 1797.	
*31.	Fr. Andr. Raupach	do.	Nov. 22, 1797.	
32.	I. C. Andrea	do.	do.	
33.	R. F. M. Lynch (?)	do.	do.	
34.	F. (?) W. Hesse	do.	May 22, 1799.	
35.	Mauritz Chr. Lytzen	do.	Dec. 14, 1799.	
36.	L. W. Klein	do.	Jan. 25, 1800.	Aff. Z. to N*. Feb. 12. 1800.
37.	Pieterson	do.	Apr. 9, 1800.	
38.	Henning Lorentzen	do.	Apr. 12, 1800.	
39.	A. Gravenhorst	do.	Nov. 5, 1800.	
40.	P. A. (?) Wittrock	do.	Sept. 13, 1801.	
41.	Ludv. Petersen	do.	Oct. 24, 1801.	
42.	A. Olsen	do.	do.	
43.	F. L. C. Bruggemann	do.	do.	
44.	N. A. (?) Wengel	do.	Nov. 11, 1802.	
45.	Hendr. Wulff Hendricks	St. Th. to U.	Dec. 7, 1803.	
46.	Kummerle	do.	Jan. 11, 1804.	
47.	S. P. Hoff	do.	Oct. 10, 1804.	
48.	E. Chr. W. Engholm	do.	Oct. 23, 1804.	
49.	Ole Petersen	Holy Cross.	Jan. 2, 1805.	
50.	Andreas Moller	do.	Feb. 20, 1805.	
51.	Mich. Petersen	do.	May 6, 1806.	
52.	A. Wenzel	do.	Jan. 7, 1807.	
53.	P. N. Nyegaard	St. Th. to U.	Nov. 11, 1807.	
54.	L. Dons	Holy Cross.	Nov. 13, 1811.	
*55.	F. G. Schmidt	St. Th. to U.	Dec. 18, 1812.	

* Visited Copenhagen Lodges several times.

OFFICERS OF "ST. THOMAS TO UNITY"

(As far as can be made out).

W.M. A. Gravenhorst.
S.W. Chr. v. Holten; E. A. Wadskiaer.
J.W. H. A. Kruger; L. Nannestad; Ludv. Petersen.
Orator. Stenersen.
Secretary. E. A. Wadskiaer; H. Kalhauge; E. F. Schifter.
Treasurer. Hoff; L. W. Meier; — ? —
Director of Ceremonies. Pieterson; K. J. Melstedt; I. P. Nissen.
Almoner. L. W. Klein; B. Waldkirck; L. W. Klein.
Economa. I. M. Kummerle; I. P. Nissen.

We find in the Lists of Members of Copenhagen Lodges in those ancient days the following names of Brethren who have not yet been mentioned in this paper. Some of them were born in or lived in St. Thomas or St. Croix; others were made Masons there:—

8.

1. *Paulus Moth*, Major, born 1727 in St. Thomas, initiated in 1751, in "St. Martin," Copenhagen. Died in Bergen 1802.
2. *Joh. Adolph Gravenhorst*, born 1724 in Copenhagen. Merchant and Planter (?) in St. Thomas. Father of Anthon Gravenhorst. Initiated 1758 in "St. Martin," Copenhagen. Died 1770 or 1775.
3. *Ulrich Vilhelm v. Roepstorff*, born 1730. Commandant of St. Thomas, later Governor-General. Initiated 1765, "St. Martin," Copenhagen.
4. *Amond v. Lowenberg*, Lieutenant in the Artillery, born in Norway, 1738. Member "Z. to N*." Affiliated later with "Holy Cross."
5. *James Harriet*, Merchant, St. Croix. Born in London 1740. Affiliated with "Z. to N*" March 9, 1775.
6. *Frederic Br. Bretton*, Captain in the Infanterie St. Croix. Born in St. Croix 1754. Initiated in "Z. to N*" Oct. 6, 1775.
7. *Balth. Dan Bartels*, Bookkeeper for Baron Schimmelmann. Born in Tonder 1746. Initiated in "Z. to N*" Apr. 25, 1776. Died in St. Croix.
8. *Friderich Chr. Moth*, born in St. Thomas 1730; Chamberlain. Supposed to have been initiated in St. Croix. Affiliates Oct. 16 with "Z. to N*."
9. *Jacob Kobke*, born in Copenhagen 1732. Custom Officer in St. Croix. Initiated in St. Croix. Affiliates Feb. 18, 1778, with "Z. to N*."
10. *Hans. Jacob Sobotker*, born in St. Croix. Affiliates Aug. 20, 1778, with "Z. to N*."
11. *Giov. Sp. de Windt*, born in New York (?) 1749. Major, English service, in St. Thomas. Initiated Dec. 17, 1783, in "Z. to N*."
12. *William Mackoi*, born in St. Croix, 1763. Merchant in St. Croix. Initiated Jan. 3, 1784, in "Z. to N*."
13. *Jacob Tostrup*, born in Hillerod. Brewer. Initiated in St. Croix. Affiliates Jan. 24, 1797, with "Z. to N*."
14. *Gotfred Hagerup*, born in Copenhagen 1777. Lieutenant, R.D.N. Initiated in St. Croix. Affiliates March 20, 1799, with "Z. to N*."
15. *Peter Friederick Wulff*, born in Copenhagen 1774. Lieutenant, R.D.N. Initiated in St. Croix. Affiliates May 11, 1799, with "Z. to N*."
16. *Peter Heger*, born in Copenhagen 1774. Mate. Initiated in St. Croix. Affiliates May 11, 1799, with "Z. to N*."
17. *Mathias Block*, born 1748. Planter in West Indies. Initiated May 15, 1799, in "Z. to N*." (List 5, No. 16.)
18. *Peter Grove Beyer*, born 1780. Bookkeeper at St. Thomas sugar refinery. Initiated Jan. 3, 1810, in "Z .to N*."
19. *Frederich Chr. v. Scheley*, born 1750. Captain. Initiated in St. Croix, Affiliates Feb. 8, 1810, in "Z. to N*."

20. *F. Haagen*, born 1779. Merchant. Initiated in St. Croix. Affiliates Feb. 5, 1811, with "Z. to N*."
21. *Eric Nocolay Pontoppidan*, born in Copenhagen 1786. Chief Clerk in West Indies. Initiated June 1, 1814, in "Z. to N*."
22. *Johan Friedr. Bloch*, born 1780. Chief Physician in St. Croix. Initiated Apr. 15, 1815, in "Z. to N*."
23. *Frederik Ferd. Hansen*, born in Helsingor 1793. Chief Clerk in Christiansted. Initiated Feb. 7, 1817, in "Z. to N*."
24. *Mathias August Braun*, born in Copenhagen 1797. Secretary in West Indies. Initiated Nov. 22, 1820, in "Z. to N*."
25. *Andreas Charles Teilmann*, born in Emdrupholm, "Hofjaegermester." Controller of Customs in St. Croix. Initiated Dec. 21, 1831, in "Z. to N*."

It is more than possible that many other Danish Brethren besides those already mentioned have lived in the West Indies, but we cannot prove it without too much searching. The leading members of these old Danish West Indian Lodges belonged evidently to the official life, military as well as civil, and a great contingent came from the more prominent business men and from the planters, Danish as well as foreign. There seem to have been very few of the Brethren who were mechanics, but many belonged to the seafaring class.

All in all the members were prominent men, and counted amongst their number many of the highest officials. The English occupation and the consequent difficult economical conditions was then the cause of the gradual dying out of the once flourishing Lodge life. But it is possible that the English Lodge, Harmonic 356 (then 708), grew out of the ruins of the old Danish Lodge, "St. Thomas to Unity," [1] in the year 1818, as without doubt several of the members of that old Lodge were amongst the Founders of the Harmonic. And it is likely that the foundation of this English Lodge made all attempts of reviving the old Danish Lodge in vain.

Copenhagen, 1916.
Sig. Johs. Rasmussen.

In the year 1854, on the 1st of April, "Les Coeurs Sincères" was founded in St. Thomas under the auspices of the Sup. Council of France and its Dependencies.

The following are its Founders:—

> Denizar Moreau; W. M. Senior, a native of Curaçao; Alex Raoul; Thomas Danastorg, a native of St. Domingo; Monrose Maduro, native of Curaçao; Geo. Jeffreys; Cheri Ben Martin; W. Gomez; W. Simmonts, native of Curaçao; Benj. Phil. Tapshire; Jean Paul, native of Curaçao; Ralph Hutington, native of Hayti.

And its first Officers were:—

> D. Moreau, W.M.; Senior, S.W.; A. Raoul, J.W.; M. Maduro, Secretary; T. Danastorg, Orator; Jean Paul, Almoner; G. Jeffreys, Treasurer; C. B. Martin, First Expert; B. P. Tapshire, Director of Ceremonies; W. Gomez, First Diacre; W. Simmonts, Second Diacre; R. Hutington, I.G.

For many years it was quite prosperous, but it fell off in the early part of the present century and eventually struck its columns.

It did excellent ritualistic work in its day. Bro. Walloe, son of the last W.M. of the old Danish Lodge "St. Thomas to Unity," was one of the prominent Masters of "Les Coeurs Sincères," and was also for some years the Representative of the Sup. Council.

[1] In the opinion of Bro. John N. Lightbourn, P.M. 356, there is too much evidence to the contrary. There is only one name, H. Cuyler, of a member of the old Danish Lodge among the Founders of the Harmonic 356 (708). K.-H.

From the beginning of its career it placed itself in communication with the Danish Supreme Authority, insomuch that it actually had official recognition prior to the Harmonic that had been in existence thirty-six years in advance; it was only after the 141 was recognised that the Harmonic applied for similar recognition.

(These particulars W.Bro. J. N. Lightbourn has gleaned from an "Annuaire" of 141. K.-H.).

But although there were now two Lodges working in St. Thomas some Brethren communicated with Bro. Andrew Cassard, of New York, asking him to try to get them a Constitution from the Supreme Council, U.S., Southern Jurisdiction, for a third Lodge in St. Thomas. However, Bro. Andrew Cassard advised them to petition the Grand Lodge of Colon, Santiago de Cuba, and through Cassard a Charter was granted them from this last-named Grand Lodge in 1871 to a Lodge "The Star in the East," under the authority of the Grand Lodge of Colon. But the Supreme Council of Colon was not working any more, and in 1872 Bro. Cassard was in fact sentenced for his behaviour in St. Thomas. The Brethren then petitioned, in the same year, the Grand Master of South Carolina for a dispensation, stating that without it they could not continue to work, as the two other Lodges would not recognise their Lodge under the pretext that the Grand Lodge did not exist any longer, or had not existed at all. The petition having no result, the Brethren then tried the Grand Lodge of Louisiana in 1873, and had better luck there, as they not only got a temporary dispensation, but a real constitution. Unluckily, however, they had omitted mentioning to the Grand Master of Louisiana their previous petition to the Grand Master of South Carolina, and as soon as the real facts were made known to the Grand Lodge of Louisiana, the Charter was immediately withdrawn and the "Star in the East" ceased to exist. Neither of the other two Lodges had ever recognised the "Star in the East," or permitted its members to visit them.

Johs. Rasmussen.

During the time that the "Star in the East" was attached to Colon neither 141 nor Harmonic had any communication with it, but whilst it held its charter from Louisiana the Harmonic gave it recognition, and its members visited 356 freely; in fact, one of its members later affiliated and became J.W. of the Harmonic; but Les Coeurs Sincères never held any communication with it at any time; in fact, I believe that that Lodge passed a very strong resolution against its members even after its Charter was withdrawn by Louisiana and the Lodge became defunct. It was always attainted in the eyes of 141.

(From Bro. Lightbourn, P.M. 356). K.-H.

In the year 1877 there was founded in Christiansted, St. Croix, the Lodge "Eureka," No. 605, under the Grand Lodge of Scotland, and this Lodge worked till about the year 1900.

We give the copy of the member list of 1893—A.L. 5897.

List of Officers and Members of the "Eureka" Lodge 605 under the registry of the M.W. Grand Lodge of Scotland, A.L. 5897.
Orient, Christiansted, St. Croix.

Bro.	J. Arendrup	R.W.M.
,,	B. F. Dendtler	D.M.
,,	A. C. Crowe	S.W.
,,	P. H. Thurland	J.W.
,,	H. de Chabert	Treasurer.
,,	Thos. Ash	Secretary.
,,	N. P. Christiansen	S.D.
,,	W. H. Brown	J.D.

Bro. I. Jensen I.G.
,, A. Henderson Tyler.
,, G. Armstrong
,, R. L. Bush
,, F. A. Carty
,, W. Didrichsen
,, E. R. Ford
,, E. Grigg
,, G. S. Hill
,, H. I. Iversen
,, A. Jorgensen
,, C. E. Leevy
,, F. Lunney
,, F. Maggee
,, P. Pentheny
,, M. A. Pretto
,, E. Struer
,, F. L. Grandjean
,, G. A. Blakely
,, I. N. Soanes
,, J. F. Jacobs.

Honorary Members.

Bro. D. Pierre
,, I. W. R. Hansen
,, J. J. Richardson
,, A. Henderson
,, H. Petersen.

None of the above-mentioned Brethren belonged to any Lodge in Denmark, but Bro. Alex. Henderson, police clerk and Church Warden in Christiansted, visited on several occasions Lodges in Copenhagen. He was initiated in "Union Lodge No. 2" under the Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, Boston (Grand Lodge for coloured Brethren), in the year 1866, was one of the founders of "Eureka" Lodge, and was thirteen years later made an honorary member of that Lodge. In 1892 he was present at the laying of the corner-stone of the new building of "Les Coeurs Sincères," and visited the Harmonic in 1892.

Johs. Rasmussen.

I may mention a strange thing with respect to the "Eureka" and Bro. Arendrup. It appears that the W.M. died. The Lodge then proceeded to the election of Bro. Arendrup as W.M., who took the Chair without due installation, and was never installed as far as I know. But he performed all the functions of a Master in initiation, passing and raising. I advised him to come to St. Thomas and be installed, or have a couple of Past Masters to visit his Lodge and instal him, but he did not seem to think it necessary.

It was irregularities of this nature which caused the Lodge to pass out of existence after so short a life.

(Note of W.Bro. J. N. Lightbourn. K.-H.)

This is what we know about Lodges in those ancient days. There is an old tale about a Lodge on the Estate Harmony at the east end of St. Thomas, and a Lodge at Leinster Bay Estate, St. John, but if ever any evidences existed out here they were lost in the different hurricanes.

The archives in Copenhagen know nothing about these two Lodges.

Since "Les Coeurs Sincères" struck its Columns, about the year 1900, there has been only one Lodge working in what are now the Virgin Islands of the U.S.A., namely, the Harmonic Lodge No. 356—on the Register of the Grand Lodge of England—founded 19th October, 1818.

NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE HARMONIC LODGE OF FREEMASONS No. 356 IN THE REGISTER OF THE GRAND LODGE OF ENGLAND.

The most famous name in the history of the Harmonic Lodge of Freemasons No. 356 E.C., in St. Thomas, Virgin Islands of U.S.A. (originally No. 708 E.C., then No. 458 E.C., St. Thomas, D.W.I.) is undoubtedly that of Isaac Lindo, P.S.G.W., of the United Grand Lodge of England.

How he ever happened to come to our modest little island, when he arrived, if he ever left it again and where he found his last resting place—to none of these questions could I find an answer, but tradition had it that he, although his name is not amongst those of the Founders on the Warrant of Constitution of October 19, 1818, was nevertheless the Brother to whom we were indebted for the foundation of the Harmonic Lodge. I had no reason to doubt the correctness of this tradition, and, in fact, the idea that we branched so close from the old tree was a very pleasing one, but there were uncertainties. How did the fact that Brother Isaac Lindo was S.G.W. of the United Grand Lodge of England in 1814 go with the fact that our Warrant of Constitution is dated October 19, 1818?

I went carefully over our Archives and found his name but once, about twenty years after the foundation of our Lodge. There was a distinct P.S.G.W. written to his name, but nothing was stated as to his age or profession. But our Archives for the first thirty-forty years are sadly defective owing to the work of cockroaches, woodlice, and the various hurricanes, of which the one on October 10-11, 1916, tore off parts of the roof of the Masonic Hall, and weeks of heavy rain did further serious damage.

As this winter I had to take two months' vacation I went right away to the one place of information, the Archives of the Grand Lodge of England, and there, thanks to the kind and careful help of the Librarian, Bro. W. Wonnacott, I found the following interesting facts:—

Bro. Isaac Lindo was born about the year 1784 and hailed from the island of Barbados, B.W.I. His name is entered in the records of the Grand Master's Lodge No. 1, in the September quarter of 1808 (in the second book of records it is put down as 1807). He was the first J.G.W. of the United Grand Lodge of England in 1813, and S.G.W. in 1814. He was W.M. of the Grand Master's Lodge No. 1, member of Grand Stewards Lodge, and Past Master of the Moira Lodge. His address is entered as No. 22, Basinghall Street.

In the Grand Lodge folio, "Distinguished Masons," are five letters written by him, namely:—

One dated Monday, 27th September, 1814, from Church Street, Spitalfields, wherein he as W.M. expresses his disapprobation of Lodge of Emergency being held without his sanction as Master.

One dated Thursday morning, December 28th, 1815, from the same address, respecting one A. Celino, who petitioned the Lodge of Benevolence, but was rejected.

One dated Friday morning, 11th December, 1818, from the same place (with cheque for £14.13 for St. Thomas Lodge), which reads as follows:—

> "My dear Sir,
>
> I have duly received the parcel containing the Warrant for St. Thomas and beg to hand you the enclosed draft for the amount of expenses thereon. You will observe that it is written accp. with the name of Messrs. . . to be paid to the Treasurer ere it can be received. You know my particularity in matters of this kind and therefore will, I am sure, see the propriety of my having done so, it being the customary mercantile mode of acknowledging payment,

still however must request you will write me a note officially through the post stating you having received same, and which I intend to give the Parties concerned.

Believe me with deep esteem,
My Dear Sir,
Yours Sincerely,
E. Harper, Esq. (signed) Isaac Lindo.
G.S."

This letter is in answer to the following, copied from Letter Book A in the Archives of the Grand Lodge:—

"London, Dec. 10th, 1818.
Freemason Hall.
R.W.Bro. & Dear Sir,

Enclosed herewith I have the Honor to hand you a Warrant of Constitution for the Petitioning Brethren in the Island of St. Thomas, together with a Book of Constitution for their information and government in their future proceedings. Allow me to observe, that as it was not expressed in the Petition of what Lodges the Individuals signing were originally made in or belonging to, it could not be ascertained whether they were 'registered Masons' and conformably to the Laws and Constitutions of our Order the Petition could not be laid before our M.W.G.M. for acquiescence on the part of His Royal Highness, until that point were so certified. I have therefore thought fit to open an account for this Lodge in the G.L. Register Book, and to record all their names, & for which I have to debit the Lodge with a Register Fee of half a Guinea each—say Eight Guineas. Should it hereafter appear that any of their names may be already registered in any Lodge under the G.L. of England, for all such the amount will be returned. It will be essential to know whether they have all attained the Degree of a M.M.? It is further necessary to observe that the G.L. having lately revised the Laws and Constitutions of the Society, the several additions and corrections to the present Code are now printing, and when completed will be forwarded to the Lodge.

In the meantime I beg to add the sincere assurance of my best wishes for success in their undertaking, and

Believe me with Fraternal Regards
etc. etc. etc.
E. H.
G.S.

Isaac Lindo, Esq.
Etc. etc. etc."

The fourth letter from Isaac Lindo is dated Thursday morning, 7th of October, 1819, and in which he acknowledges grants to the Boys' School.

The fifth, and last, letter follows here in *extenso*:—

"To the Right W. The Lodge of Benevolence:—

It is with the most heart rending grief that after having spent my life thus far in affluence and comfort I am suddenly and unexpectedly placed in a situation of such distress as to be compelled to throw myself upon the generosity of my Brethren & to request some assistance from the Fund of Benevolence. Great as is my grief, I yet feel a soothing consolation that I am addressing those who have witnessed my exertions to promote the best interest of our order and to extend to all who need it that which I am forced to solicit for

myself. I am sure that I need only to state my present distress to excite sympathy and consideration on my behalf—accustomed as I have been all my life to the enjoyment of every luxury. You will easily imagine what I endure when I assure you that at this moment I do not possess the means of procuring either food or fire to protect me from the inclemency of the season, as I do not possess a single shilling in the world and unless I am fortunate enough to derive some aid I shall most probably fall the victim of want and distress.

The premature death of my brother with whom I was connected in business, and through whose insolvency I have suffered the loss of all I possessed in the world, and my anxiety to avoid the ignominy of a prison by paying to those to whom I was indebted every shilling I could procure has put me in this dreadful state of want, added to which I have experienced other misfortunes of a domestic nature, which have nearly annihilated me. In this situation, Brethren, I have no alternative, no hope but you, and I entreat you will not withhold from me that assistance which is afforded to others, and I hope that some amongst you will plead my cause as I have done that of others, and that to Masonic Benevolence I may be indebted for a continuance of existence which I yet trust under the blessing of the Great Architect of the Universe may be of advantage to our sacred Order.

I remain, Brethren,
Your Faithful & distressed Brother,
(signed) Isaac Lindo.

Woodnerboro' near Sandwick,
27th January, 1822."

Bro. Isaac Lindo did not plead in vain. United Grand Lodge of England of Ancient Free & Accepted Masons at a Quarterly Communication holden at Free Masons' Hall, Great Queen Street on Wednesday, 5 March 1823, resolved as follows: "On the recommendation of the Lodge of Benevolence it was resolved unanimously—That the sum of £100 be paid out of the Funds of Benevolence to Brother Isaac Lindo, P.S.G.W., and Past Master of Grand Master's Lodge No. 1, towards his relief, he having by sudden and unexpected reverse of Fortune been reduced from a state of affluence to one of most extreme distress."

And the accounts of John Dent, Esq., Grand Treasurer, show for March 5th, 1823, that Bro. Isaac Lindo received £100 by special grant of Grand Lodge—a large amount in those days.

He went abroad. In the records of Grand Master's Lodge No. 1 we find the word "abroad" written to his name for the year 1822, and nothing further about him is recorded there.

We do not know where he went. His grief, his distress in the harshness and darkness of the winter may have made him dream about and long for the sunshine and blue sky of his childhood. Probably he took the first packet for the West Indies, maybe not to his native island of Barbados, to meet memories too overwhelming just then, when his heart was sore, but to some other island, under the same blue sky and not too far from the land of his first dreams. One fact we know—that in the records of the Harmonic Lodge No. 708, in the island of St. Thomas, Bro Isaac Lindo was entered as a member on February 21st, 1835. There is a distinct P.S.G.W. added to his name, and Past Master of Grand Master's Lodge No. 1. His profession is given as Schoolmaster. From a note, dated St. Thomas, 2nd April, 1835, and signed by Benjamin Levy, Past Master, we learn that Bro. Isaac Lindo was installed W.M. of the Harmonic Lodge No. 458, St. Thomas, on March 29th, 1835.

While his profession in the previous return is given as schoolmaster, we find nothing in the returns up to 27th March, 1836, to indicate his profession—nor anywhere later on.

W.M.	Isaac Lindo	52	years.	
S.W.	Judah Cappe	37	,,	Merchant.
J.W.	Jacob Pretto	35	,,	,,

On one page of the return sheet is written a letter to the G.S., ending as follows:—

> "I request you will present my most dutiful remembrance to our illustrious Grand Master accompanied with sincere wishes for his much valued health that he may long continue to govern and protect the Craft.
>
> Accept my regards individually
> And believe me
> Sincerely Yours
> (signed) Isaac Lindo."

In the Returns of 21st March, 1842, we read:—

"Isaac Lindo, P.S.G.W. and Pastmaster deceased."

We Brethren of the Harmonic No. 356 have cherished a tradition dear to us that Bro. Isaac Lindo, P.S.G.W., Past Master of the Grand Master's Lodge No. 1, and of the Harmonic Lodge No. 356 was the one who started our Lodge, and the facts given above appear to confirm rather than to destroy this tradition. He came to us in the sadness of his life, he became one of us, became our Master—surely the trust he expressed in his letter of distress to the Lodge of Benevolence was justified—his life became once more of advantage to our sacred Order.

Isaac Lindo was appointed J.G.W. at the Union meeting of Grand Lodge on 27th December, 1813.

1814.	2 March	Present as J.G.W.
	2 May	,, ,, ,,
	1 June	,, ,, ,,
	7 September	,, ,, ,,
	7 December	,, ,, ,,

He was appointed S.G.W. 7th December, 1814.

1814.	27 December	Present as S.G.W.
1815.	1 February	Absent.
	8 March	Present ,, ,,
	29 May	,, ,, ,,
	31 May	,, ,, ,,
	7 June	,, ,, ,,
	23 August	Absent.
	6 September	Present ,, ,,
	6 December	,, ,, ,,

Appointed on Board of Finance	6 Dec.	1815.
,, ,, ,, ,, Schools	5 June	1816.
,, Treasurer of Boys' School	1 Jan.	1815.
,, on Board of Gen. Purposes	4 June	1817.
,, ,, ,, ,, Gen. Purposes	3 June	1818.
,, ,, ,, ,, Finance	2 June	1819.
,, ,, ,, ,, Gen. Purposes	7 June	1820.
,, ,, ,, ,, Gen. Purposes	6 June	1821.

The records of the Synagogue of St. Thomas show that Bro. Isaac Lindo died Sunday morning at 6 o'clock, August 15th, 1841.

Along the eastern wall of the Jewish Cemetery in St. Thomas, V.I., U.S.A., there is a row of Royal Palms, and here, between the 7th and 8th of these beautiful palms—counting from the south—is the resting place of Bro. Isaac Lindo. The superstructure of his grave is brickwork, and the top of this, which is covered with a marble slab, has the following inscription:—

IN MEMORY OF

ISAAC LINDO

FORMERLY OF BARBADOS

WHO DIED

15TH AUGUST 1841 28TH MENAHEM 5601.

AGED 56 YEARS.

From the printed accounts we know that the Harmonic Lodge in the last quarter of 1818 paid in her first dues of Eight Guineas, as registration fee for the 16 petitioning Brethren ("I have therefore thought fit to open an account for this Lodge in the Grand Lodge Register Book and to record all their names, and for which I have to debit the Lodge with a Register Fee of half a Guinea each—say eight Guineas") and Five Guineas for the Warrant. Sixteen names were then registered, but only fourteen of these names were written on the Warrant, accompanied by the words "and others."

Those fourteen Founders were:—

James Miller	First W.M.
Samuel Hoheb	,, S.W.
Elias H. Lindo	,, J.W.
Samuel Matthew	
William S. Southes	
Thomas French	
Duncan McKellar	
E. C. M. da Costa	[Harmonic Archives]
R. Drysdale	
Robert Morris Harrison	
M. D'Azevedo	
William King	
John King	
H. Cuyler and others.	

REGISTER. Fo. 215.

No. 708. Harmonic Lodge, No. 708, Island of St. Thomas.

		Age.	Name	Occupation	Place	
1818.	Oct. 19.	40.	Miller, James	Merchant.	St. Thomas.	Founders of the Lodge.
		52.	Hoheb, Saml.	,,	,,	
		36.	Lindo, Elias	,,	,,	
		65.	Mathews, Saml. A.	,,	,,	
		33.	Southez, Wm. S.	,,	,,	
		36.	French, Mark A.	,,	,,	
		33.	McKellar, Duncan	,,	,,	
		24.	De Costa, Elias C. M.	,,	,,	
		28.	Drysdale, Robt.	,,	,,	
		39.	Azevedo, Moses	,,	,,	
		42.	King, John	,,	,,	
		42.	King, Wm.	,,	,,	
		37.	Tavarez, Jacob	,,	,,	
		36.	Harrison, Robt. M.	,,	,,	
	*	35.	Davidson, P. F.	British Commissary.		

15 names.

Next return is 1819. Ap. 5.

* There is no payment entered against Davidson.

I received this extract from the Register from Bro. Wonnacott on March 17, 1923.

If we add Bros. Mark A. French and Jacob Tavarez to the list of names on our Charter we are likely to have the names of all of the Founders, for whom was paid a "Register fee, of half a Guinea each, say Eight Guineas." K. K.-H.

It is difficult to make out if the Master's Installation in those early years took place in the month of March (Some of the Returns are "up to" March 27th) or in June (some of the Returns are "up to" June 24th). The three first principal officers may have served office up to March (or June), 1819, or up to March (or June), 1820. The former may be the right supposition as the letter from Governor-General P. v. Scholten with the permission to hold a Freemason Lodge in the island of St. Thomas is addressed and dated as follows:—

"St. Thomas, April 16th, 1819.

Ved at underrette Dem om at der intet haves imod Oprettelsen af den i Deres Andragende af 12 Januar dennes naevnte Frimurer Loge onskes samme al Held til Opnaaelsen af de angivne velgorende Ojemed.

Commandantskabet, St. Thomas, April 16th, 1819.
P. v. Scholten.

Til Herr James Miller
Robert Harrison
M. D'Azevedo, m . . fl."

(Translation.)

"I beg to inform you that the Government has no objection whatsoever to the establishing of a Freemason Lodge as stated in your petition, and wishes you further all good luck that you may be enabled to fulfil your charitable purposes."

Samuel Hoheb seems to have been W.M. for 1820-1821.

A M.M. certificate for Brother Elias Mocatta, dated Harmonic Lodge No. 708, the 23rd day of October 1821 is signed:—

"E. H. Lindo, R.A. P.H.	W.M.	—1821-1822.
M. A. Ffrench, R.A.	S.W.	
Will. Miller	J.W."	

These same Brethren were probably the Principal Officers for 1822-1823.

From a travelling certificate (Harmonic Archives) for Judah Cappe, we know that the Principal Officers for the following year were:—

"M. A. Ffrench	W.M.	—1823-1824.
David Pardo	S.W.	
David Murray	J.W.	
Benjamin Levy	Sec."	

This travelling certificate runs as follows:—

"In the East a place full of light where Silence and Peace Reigns

To all men enlightened on the surface of the earth greeting

We the Master, Wardens and Members of the Harmonic Lodge No. 708, constituted under the auspices of the Grand Lodge of England

Do hereby certify that our worthy Brother Judah Cappe is a Master Mason of good report beloved and esteemed among us & we do recommend him as such to all the Fraternity wherever dispersed and pledge a grateful return for the kindness shown to him.

Done in Lodge this first Day of May, A.L. 5823 and A.D. 1823.

M. A. Ffrench R.A.
Master.

David Pardo
S.W.

David Murray
J.W.

Benjamin Levy
Secretary.

These same Brethren were possibly in Office 1824-1825.

David Naar	W.M.	1825-1826.
David Pardo	W.M.	1826-1827.
I.M. Martinez (M.S.?)	S.W.	,, ,,
Solomon Levy	J.W.	,, ,,

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708. Returns from 24th of June 1827—24th of June 1828:—

W.M.	Pardo, David	Merchant	37 yrs.	St. Thomas.
S.W.	Martinez, I. M.	—	30 ,,	—
J.W.	Levy, Salomon	—	28 ,,	—
P.M.	Naar, David	—	48 ,,	—
Tre.	Pretto, H. Jacob	—	28 ,,	—
Sec.	Lindo, Raphael	—	35 ,,	—
S.D.	Maduro, H. L. A.	—	43 ,,	—

J.D.	Levy, David	Clerk	29 yrs.	—
Tyler	Abenatar, Emanuel	—	48 ,,	—
	Ffrench, M. A.	Merchant	48 ,,	—
	Levy, Leon	—	42 ,,	—
	Hjardemaal, N. P.	—	46 ,,	—
	Simmons, A. S.	Sailmaker	60 ,,	—
	McLaughlen, N. M.	Clergyman	65 ,,	—
	Michel, John	Planter	37 ,,	St. John.
	Hoheb, Samuel	Merchant	59 ,,	St. Thomas.
	Cappé, Judah	—	29 ,,	—
	Pretto, H. Moses	—	29 ,,	—
	Levy, jr., David	—	39 ,,	Ponto Cab.
	Levy, Joseph	Clerk	25 ,,	St. Thomas.
	Hoheb, Abraham	—	33 ,,	—
	Toledo, Oberon	Shopkeeper	24 ,,	—
	Martinez, O.	Mariner	36 ,,	—
	Menesco, D. Marcus	Clergyman	31 ,,	—
	Pardo, Salomon	Merchant	35 ,,	—
	Sasso, Abraham	Clergyman	47 ,,	—
	Vener (?), Jacob	Merchant	47 ,,	—
	Dinzey, Joseph	Mariner	39 (?)	—
	Morel, Joseph	Merchant	50 yrs.	—
	Thomsen, I. M.	Clerk	32 ,,	—
	De Sola, H. Isaac	Merchant	25 ,,	St. Croix.

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708. Returns from 24th of June 1828—24th of June 1829:—

W.M.	Pardo, David	Merchant	38 yrs.	St. Thomas.
S.W.	Martinez, M. I.	—	31 ,,	—
J.W.	Levy, Benjamin	—	29 ,,	—
Tre.	Senior, jr., Jacob	—	27 ,,	—
Sec.	Lindo, Raphael	—	37 ,,	—
S.D.	De Sola, H. Isaac	—	26 ,,	—
J.D.	Levy, David	Clerk	30 ,,	—
P.M.	Naar, David	Merchant	29 ,,	—
	Ffrench, M. A.	—	49 ,,	—
	Levy, Leon	—	43 ,,	—
	Simmons, A. S.	Sailmaker	61 ,,	—
	McLaughlen, N. M.	Clergyman	65 ,,	—
	Cappé, Judah	Merchant	30 ,,	—
	Hoheb, Samuel	—	60 ,,	—
	Pretto, H. Moses	—	30 ,,	—
	Levi, Joseph	Clerk	26 ,,	—
	Hoheb, Abraham	Merchant	34 ,,	—
	Toledo, Estevan	Shopkeeper	25 ,,	—
	Pretto, H. Jacob	Merchant	29 ,,	—
	Levy, Salomon	—	29 ,,	—
	Maduro, H.	Clergyman	44 ,,	—
	Pardo, Salomon	Merchant	36 ,,	—
	Sasso, Abraham	Clergyman	52 ,,	—
	Boiz (?), James	Merchant	50 ,,	—
	Dinzey, Joseph	Mariner	40 ,,	—
	Morrell (Morel ?), J.	Merchant	51 ,,	—
	Thomsen, J. M.	Clerk	33 ,,	—
	Levy, Benjamin	Merchant	29 ,,	—
	Late P.M. Lodge "Union 444" Curazao.			
	Senior, jr., Jacob	Merchant	27 yrs.	—
	Member Lodge "Union 444" Curazao.			

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708. Returns from 24th June 1829—24th June 1830:—

W.M.	Naar, David	Merchant	30 yrs.	St. Thomas.
S.W.	Martinez, M. S. (I. M. ?)	—	31 ,,	—
J.W.	Senior, jr., Jacob	—	28 ,,	—
Trea.	Hoheb, Abraham	—	35 ,,	—
Sec.	Levy, Benjamin	—	30 ,,	—
S.D.	De Sola, Isaac	—	27 ,,	—
J.D.	Levy, David	Clerk	31 ,,	—
P.M.	Pardo, David	Merchant	39 ,,	—

List of members is like the one for 1828-1829 plus the following new:—

Monsanto, M., David	Merchant
Kjaer, T. A.	Mariner
Bascowitz, Abraham	Merchant
Luby, T.	—
Simmonds, M. B.	Taylor
de Penna, David	
Moth	Lawyer

708.—Returns from 24th June 1830—24th of June 1831:—

W.M.	Naar, David
S.W.	Martinez, M. S.
J.W.	Senior, jr., Jacob
Tre.	Hoheb, Abraham
Sec.	Levy, Benjamin
S.D.	de Sola H., Isaac
J.D.	Levy, David
P.M.	Pardo, David

List of members more or less the same as the previous year:—

Hoheb, Samuel	deceased
Maduro, H. H. L.	,,
Dinzey, Joseph	,,
Thomsen,	,,
Kjaer,	resigned
Luby (Suby ?)	,,
de Penna, David	,,

Twelve Initiates, but the names are not readable.

708.—Returns from 24th June 1831—31st December 1831:—

W.M.	Levy, Benjamin	Merchant	31 yrs.
S.W.	Pretto, Moses	—	31 ,,
J.W.	Cappé, Judah	—	32 ,,
Trea.	Hoheb, Abraham	—	35 ,,
Sec.	Simmonds, M. P. (M. B. ?)	—	27 ,,
S.D.	de Sola, H. Isaac	—	28 ,,
J.D.	Levy, David	Clerk	32 ,,
P.M.	Naar, David, residing in U.S.A.		

Abernatar, Sam.	deceased			
Abernatar, Jacob	,,			
Pardo, David	,,			
Ffrench, M. A.	Merchant	51	yrs.	
Simmons, A. I. (A. S. ?)	Sailmaker	53	,,	(63 ?)
Levy, Leon	Merchant	45	,,	
McLaughlen,	Clergyman	69	,,	
Toledo, Estevan	Shopkeeper	27	,,	
Levy, Salomon	Merchant	31	,,	
Pardo, Salomon	—	38	,,	
Bing,	—	52	,,	
Morel, Joseph	—	53	,,	
Monsanto, D. M. (M. David ?)				
Nunes, D. G.				
Bonelly, P.	Tavernkeeper			
Moth ?	Lawyer			
Cebero,	Planter			
and three others.				

From the last mentioned date (December 31st, 1831) the Lodge suspended work owing to the calamitous fire which rendered many of the Brethren incapable of continuing their support to the institution for want of pecuniary means; therefore the W.M., B. Levy, retained the Charter for the purpose of resuming labour when practicable for the Craft.

From 31st December, 1831, the following Brethren continued to be members up to January 24th, 1835, the Lodge having remained dormant during the intervening time, during which Jean Victorious Jastram was initiated; the No. of the Lodge having been altered to 458 St. Thomas, 30th January, 1835:—

W.M.	Levy, Benjamin	
S.W.	Cappé, Judah	
J.W.	Levy, Salomon	
Tre.	Hoheb, Abraham	
Sec.	Simmonds, M. B.	
	Morel, Joseph	[P.M., but not Harmonic.]
	Levy, Jacob	
	Toledo, Estevan	
	Moth,	
	Bascowitz, Abraham	
	Ffrench, M. A.	
	McLaughlen, N. M.	
	Simmons, A. I. (A. S. ?)	
	Azevedo, C.	
	Jastram, J. V.	

458. Returns from January 24th 1835—March 29th 1835:—

W.M.	Levy, Benjamin		35	yrs.
S.W.	Cappé, Judah		36	,,
J.W.	Levy, Salomon		35	,,
Trea.	Hoheb, Abraham		40	,,
Sec.	Simmonds, M. B.		31	,,
S.D.	Azevedo, J. C.		35	,,
J.D.	Levy, David		38	,,
P.M.	Morrell, Joseph			
	Bay, Jacob	Merchant	56	,,
	Toledo, Estevan		31	,,

Morel, Joseph
Moth,
Bascowitz, Abraham
Simmons, A. I. (A. S. ?)
Ffrench, M. A.
McLaughlen, N. M.

21 Feb. 1835:	Lindo, Isaac	Schoolmaster. P.S.G.W., P.M., of Grand Master's Lodge No. 1.
	Jastram, J. V.	Mariner
	Pretto, Daniel	Doctor
	Dickmann, Christian	Merchant
	Suarez, Nicholas	
	Mendes, Isaac Rois	
	Galliber, J. L. A.	St. Jean D'Ecoss, Bordeaux.
	Pretto, Jacob	Infant and former member of 708.
	Gonel, J. M.	Clerk
	Bonelli, Pierre	Tavernkeeper
	Levy, L. J.	Merchant
	Hoheb, jr., Sam. B.	Sailmaker
	Wolff, Aaron	Merchant. Former member 708.
	Monsanto, Elias	Member Lodge 6, Curazao.
	Zapia, I. Leon	

St. Thomas, 4th March, 1835.
Brothers W. H. White & Edwards Harper, G.S.

Sirs & Brethren:

On the 5th of March 1827 in the island of Curazao I had the honor of addressing you in my capacity as Master of the Lodge Union No. 444, & now I have the pleasure of doing the same, as master of the Harmonic Lodge No. 458 in the island of St. Thomas—twice it has fallen to my lot to mend errors & neglect of the former masters; I claim no merit, as I consider it my duty to fulfil my obligation with the G.L.

The Secretary being indisposed I am prevented from sending you Returns, however I will do so next pacquet, meanwhile beg leave to inclose I. & M. Azevedo's draft for £20. on George Levi & Co., at 60 D/S endorsed to you, please do the needful & hold the same to my order as follows, £13. 17. 6 for returns; £3. 5. 0 for 10 certificates; £2. 17. 6, balance, please invest in a Pastmaster collar such as allowed to be worn by the constitution; and should there be a difference of £1. 0. 0 or so to execute the order & if you will honor me by advancing it, it will be remitted in due c[ourse] with many thanks. The R.W. P.S.G.W. Bro. Isaac Lindo will address you and give the directions for the jewel; 3 shillings are included in the returns for a book of Constitutions, this, as well as the jewel, you will oblige me to send to him pr. first conveyance, either direct or via Barbados, addressing your communication, if to that island to care of either of my friends Messrs. R. Lindo, M. Azevedo, de Lobo, or S. Shannon—& if to this island to Messrs. Z. & A. J. Levy—

I beg to excuse my (?) intention & hope of soon writing you etc., trusting to be favoured soon with your communcation.

I remain Fraternally
Sirs & Brothers
Yours most Truly,
Benjamin Levy

St. Thomas, 2d. April 1835.
Brothers W. H. White & E. Harper, G.S.

Sirs & Brothers:

On the 4th ultimo I had the pleasure of addressing you & remitted M.P.J. & M. Azevedo's draft at 90 D/S on Messrs. G. Levi & Co., of your city for £20. sh. 5. of which bill you have enclosed doubt not that in this, the 1 & 2 have reached you and been honored.

Enclosed you have Returns to the G.L. from 24 June, 1827 to 29th ultimo, including Benevolent fee for & cost of 10 certificates amtg. together £17. 2. 6., which amount beg you to pay as confirmed with the statement, I trust the Carroy (?) stated in said Returns will plead sufficient excuse for the former Masters and myself, assuring you that every attention will be paid to deserve your consideration; the R.W. P.S.G.W., Bro. Isaac Lindo, was installed Master of the Lodge on 29th, ultimo, but as I had the pleasure of being the one then in the chair, when I addressed you last, I do now so again it being on the same subject; the good example of our R.W. Brother Lindo will be followed to support our institution; in hope of soon hearing from you & with S . . . osity (?) of Fraternal Regards from the Master of the Harmonic Lodge to you individually & members of the Fraternity in general.

I am most Respectfully,
Sirs & Brothers
Yours obedient Servant
Benjamin Levy.
P. Master.

Returns from Harmonic Lodge No. 458, held at St. Thomas, with payments to the Funds of the Grand Lodge up to 27 March 1836:—

W.M.	Isaac Lindo	52 yrs.		
S.W.	Judah Cappé	37 ,,	Merchant	
J.W.	Jacob Pretto H.	35 ,,	—	
P.M.	Benj. Levy	35 ,,	—	
Trea.	Abraham Hoheb	41 ,,	—	
Sec.	M. B. Simmonds	32 ,,	—	
S.D.	Isaac Azevedo	36 ,,	—	Initiated in Albion Lodge, Barbados, 1827.
J.D.	Sam. B. Hoheb, jr.	36 yrs.	—	
I.G.	David Levy	37 ,,	—	
Tyler	Isaac Abernatar			
	Estevan Toledo			
	Christian Dickmann			
	Daniel Pretto H.	29 ,,	Physician.	I. 21 Jan. P. 28 Mar. R. 7 May 1835
	Isaac R. Mendes		Merchant	
	Nicholas Suarez	28 ,,	—	
	Joseph Morel		Hatter	
	Abraham Bascowitz		Merchant	
	Pierre Bonelli			
	J. M. Gonel	35 yrs.		
	J. V. Jastram		Master Mariner	
	J. L. A. Galliber		Mariner	
	J. L. Sappia		—	Porto Rico.
	Ab. J. Levy	29 ,,	Merchant	
	Aaron Wolff	40 ,,	—	

Jacob Lobo	25 yrs.		P. Cabello.
James Parish		—	
Joseph Daniel		Master Carpenter	
F. A. Mannis (Mannus ?)		Merchant	
J. M. Guiterez			Cuba.
David Cardoze			
P. G. Vessup	34 ,,	Clerk	

I request you will present my most dutiful remembrance to our Illustrious Grand Master accompanied with sincerest wishes for his much valued health that he may long continue to govern and protect the Craft.

Accept my regards individually
and believe me
Sincerely Yours
(March 1836.) (signed) Isaac Lindo.

St. Thomas, 22 April 1836.

Worshipful Sirs & Bros.:

Annexed I have the pleasure to hand you Returns up to the date of the R.W. P.M. Bro. Isaac Lindo's administration, trusting, when it shall be my Lot to fulfil that pleasing duty, to be equally or more successful. Permit me to remind you that the Lodge waits most anxiously to secure the Bye-Laws forwarded by P.M. Bro. Benj. Levy for confirmation. Meanwhile I remain most respectfully,

Yours Fraternally,
Jacob Pretto H.
W.M.

Returns dated St. Thomas, 26th March 1837:—

W.M.	Jacob Pretto	36 yrs.
S.W.	Judah Cappé	38 ,,
J.W.	Daniel Pretto H.	31 ,,
P.M.	Isaac Lindo	53 ,,
Trea.	Ab. Hoheb	42 ,,
Sec.	Sam B. Hoheb, jr.	37 ,,
S.D.	Chr. Dickmann	41 ,,
J.D.	Nicholas Suarez	32 ,,
P.M.	Benj. Levy	36 ,,
I.G.	David Levy	38 ,,
Tyler	Isaac Abernatar	33 ,, (?)
	Ab. Bascowitz	
	Estevan Toledo	
	Pierre Bonelli	
	James Parish	
	Joseph Daniel	
	J. M. Guiterez	
	F. A. Mannus	
	Peter Gurley Vessup	
	Pierre Bonet	
	Theodore M. Monsanto	
	Mathew Large	

Pretto H., Ab.	26 yrs. I. Apr. 16; P. May 4; R. June 1
Colquhoun, James W. Prof: Saddler	40 ,, I. ,, 16; P. ,, 4; R. ,, 1
Joseph Morel	Deceased
M. B. Simmonds	Resigned
Isaac Azevedo	,,
I. R. Mendes	,,
M. J. Gonel (J. M. ?)	,,
J. V. Jastram	,,
J. L. A. Galliber	,,
Nicholas Suarez	,,
J. L. Sapia	,,
Aaron Wolff	,,
Ab. J. Levy	,,
David Cardoze	,,
David Lobo	,,
Is. Delvalle	,,

Returns dated St. Thomas, 30th July, 1838:—

W.M.	Daniel Pretto H., M.D.	32 yrs.
S.W.	Sam. B. Hoheb, jr.	38 ,,
J.W.	Christian Dickmann	42 ,,
P.M.	Jacob Pretto	37 ,,
P.M.	Isaac Lindo	54 ,,
P.M.	Benj. Levy	37 ,,
Trea.	Ab. Hoheb	43 ,,
Sec.	Ab. Pretto H.	27 ,,
S.D.	David Levy	39 ,,
J.D.	Joseph Daniel	
Tyler	Isaac Abernatar	
	Judah Cappé	Resigned
	Peter Vessup	,,
	Christian Dickmann	Deceased
	Abr. Bascowitz	
	Estevan Toledo	
	Pierre Bonelli	
	F. A. Manus	31 yrs.
	Jacque Parish	
	Theodore M. Monsanto	
	James Colquhoun	41 ,,
	J. L. A. Galliber	
	J. V. Jastram	
	Moses Wolff	21 ,,
	Moses F. Ricardo	24 ,,
	Charles Haranchipy	26 ,,
	Johannes Berens	
	Auguste Plane	
	Benjamin Welcome	

1838—1839.

W.M.	Daniel Pretto, M.D.
S.W.	Sam. B. Hoheb, jr.
J.W.	?

1839—1840.

W.M.	Samuel B. Hoheb, jr.

1840—1841.

W.M.	Samuel B. Hoheb, jr.

1841—1842. (St. Thomas, 21st March 1842.)

W.M.	Benjamin Levy
S.W.	Joseph Daniel
J.W.	Abraham Pretto H.
P.M.	Jacob Pretto H.
P.M.	Daniel Pretto H., M.D.
P.M.	Samuel B. Hoheb, jr.
Trea.	Ab. Hoheb
Sec.	Jacob M. Monsanto
S.D.	James W. Colquhoun
J.D.	Jacob Oliveyra
I.G.	Moses Cardoze
Tyler	Ezekiel Salomon

Aug. 15, 1841. Isaac Lindo, P.S.G.W. & P.M., deceased.

1837.	Moses Wolff	Resigned	
	Charles Haranchipy (France)	,,	

1838.	Pedro Garcia	Resigned	Mariner
	John Renneck	,,	,,

1839.	Alexis de Jorma	Resigned	Military
	Gomez Vaiz (Martinique)	,,	
	James Schambler	Deceased	Naval Off.
	Richard R. Arnott	,,	,, ,,
	John Muller	Resigned	
	André Bonelly	Deceased	
	Henrich Palomino		

1840.	Jacob Oliveyra
	Moses Cardoze
	Jacob Monsanto
	Ezekiel Levison
	Moses J. Sourdes

1841.	Mordecai Sasso
	Jeremiah Maduro
	Daniel Stewart
	Benjamin C. Carullon
	David de Penna

1842. Jacob Pereira

1842.

Init.	Pas.	Rais.			
Mar. 20.	June 2.	July 7.	Jacob Pereira	Merchant	St. Dom.
June 2.	July 7.	Aug. 4.	Rob. W. Goodchild	Architect	
Sep. 1.	Oct. 6.	Nov. 3.	George Jaffreys	Retailer	
Sep. 1.	Oct. 6.	Nov. 3.	Zacharia Levy	Merchant	Hamburg
1843.					
Mar. 3.	Apr. 6.	May 4.	John H. Wismann		
Apr. 6.	May 4.	June 1.	Michael Lanclos	Retailer	
May 4.	June 1.	Aug. 3.	Joseph Delatte		
Apr. 6.	May 4.	June 1.	Benjamin Delvalle		
July 6.	Aug. 3.	Nov. 6.	David S. de Castro		
July 6.	Aug. 3.	Sept. 7.	Daniel J. Fox	Clerk	
July 6.	Aug. 3.	Sept. 7.	Salomon Benjamin	Auctioneer	
July 6.	Aug. 3.	Sept. 7.	Isaac Valencia	Retailer	
Oct. 12.	Dec. 6.	Jan. 4.	David E. Pierre	Master Joiner	

Letter of 14 April, 1844, from Daniel Pretto stating that on account of illness has not been able to send Returns for the two last years, but now is sending £13., and that 13 certificates are required for the several Brethren.

1842—1843.

W.M.	Sam. B. Hoheb, jr.
S.W.	Joseph Daniel
J.W.	Abraham Pretto H.
Trea.	Abraham Hoheb
Sec.	David de Pinna (Penna ?)
S.D.	J. W. Colquhoun
J.D.	Jacob Oliveira
I.G.	David Levy
Tyler	M. E. Levison
P.M.	Benjamin Levy
P.M.	Jacob Pretto H.
P.M.	Daniel Pretto H., M.D.

1843—1844.

W.M.	Jacob Pretto H.
S.W.	Joseph Daniel
J.W.	Jb. M. Monsanto
Trea.	J. D. Maduro
Sec.	Ab. Pretto H.
S.D.	J. W. Colquhoun
J.D.	Jacob Oliveira
I.G.	David Levy
Tyler	E. Levison
P.M.	Sam. B. Hoheb, jr.
P.M.	Benj. Levy
P.M.	Daniel Pretto H., M.D.

1844—1845.

W.M.	Daniel Pretto H., M.D.
S.W.	David Levy
J.W.	Jacob Oliveira

1845—1846.

W.M.	Daniel Pretto H., M.D.
S.W.	David Levy
J.W.	Mordecai Sasso.

Last meeting was held on February 12, 1846; the Warrant was held by Daniel Pretto H., M.D., from Feb. 12, 1846, until 1851, when a reconstruction of the Lodge took place.

1846—1851.

W.M.	Daniel Pretto H., M.D.
S.W.	David Levy
J.W.	Mordecai Sasso

1851—1852.

W.M.	Daniel Pretto H., M.D.
S.W.	Joseph Daniel
J.W.	Mordecai Sasso

These few pages contain all that I was able to find about the Harmonic 356 in the Archives of the Grand Lodge; even the G.L. Register Book has nothing about our Lodge till a way up in the forties.

I might mention that the Grand Lodge Folio: "Distinguished Masons," originally contained but four letters from Bro. Isaac Lindo; the fifth letter, the one about our Warrant, was found by Bro. W. Wonnacott and me, hidden amongst records from Lodge No. 710.

Whatever I have found in the Harmonic Archives—very little indeed from the period 1818—1844, I have marked: "Harmonic Archives."

Much thanks is due to the Librarian of the Grand Lodge, Bro. W. Wonnacott; and to Bro. Songhurst, Secretary of Quatuor Coronati, for his great interest in the notes on Bro. Isaac Lindo, which now appear in the printed *Transactions* of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge.

I am much indebted to W.Bro. John N. Lightbourn, a wise and a careful adviser, and to Bro. Axel Hansen for his good and unselfish assistance.

London, November, 1922.
St. Thomas, V.I., December, 1922.

KNUD KNUD-HANSEN, M.D.,
P.M. 356.

LIST OF MASTERS AND WARDENS FROM 1818 TO 1852 INCLUSIVE.

1818—1819.	James Miller	W.M.
	Samuel Hoheb	S.W.
	Elias H. Lindo	J.W.
1819—1820.	James Miller	W.M.
	Samuel Hoheb	S.W.
	Elias H. Lindo	J.W.
1820—1821.	Samuel Hoheb (?)	W.M.
1821—1822.	Elias H. Lindo	W.M.
	M. A. Ffrench	S.W.
	Will. Miller	J.W.
1822—1823.	Elias H. Lindo	W.M.
1823—1824.	M. A. Ffrench	W.M.
	David Pardo	S.W.
	David Murray	J.W.
1824—1825.	M. A. Ffrench	W.M.
	David Pardo	S.W.
	David Murray	J.W.
1825—1826.	David Naar	W.M.
1826—1827.	David Pardo	W.M.
	I. M. Martinez	S.W.
	Salomon Levy	J.W.
1827—1828.	David Pardo	W.M.
	I. M. Martinez	S.W.
	Salomon Levy	J.W.
1828—1829.	David Pardo	W.M.
	I. M. Martinez	S.W.
	Benj. Levy	J.W.
1829—1830.	David Naar	W.M.
	J. M. Martinez	S.W.
	Jacob Senior, jr.	J.W.
1830—1831.	David Naar	W.M.
	J. M. Martinez	S.W.
	Jacob Senior, jr.	J.W.
1831—1831.	(June 24—Dec. 31.)	
	Benjamin Levy	W.M.
	Moses Pretto H.	S.W.
	Judah Cappé	J.W.
1831—1835.	(Dec. 1831—Jan. 1835.)	
	Benjamin Levy	W.M.
	Judah Cappé	S.W.
	Salomon Levy	J.W.

1835—1835.	(Jan. 24, 1835—Mar. 29, 1835.)	
	Benjamin Levy	W.M.
	Judah Cappé	S.W.
	Salomon Levy	J.W.
1835—1836.	Isaac Lindo	W.M.
	Judah Cappé	S.W.
	Jacob Pretto H.	J.W.
1836—1837.	Jacob Pretto H.	W.M.
	Judah Cappé	S.W.
	Daniel Pretto, M.D.	J.W.
1837—1838.	Daniel Pretto H., M.D.	W.M.
	Samuel B. Hoheb, jr.	S.W.
	Christian Dickmann	J.W.
1838—1839.	Daniel Pretto H., M.D.	W.M.
	Samuel B. Hoheb, jr.	S.W.
	?	J.W.
1839—1840.	Samuel Hoheb, jr.	W.M.
1840—1841.	Samuel B. Hoheb, jr.	W.M.
1841—1842.	Benjamin Levy	W.M.
	Joseph Daniel	S.W.
	Abraham Pretto	J.W.
1842—1843.	Samuel B. Hoheb, jr.	W.M.
	Joseph Daniel	S.W.
	Abraham Pretto H.	J.W.
1843—1844.	Jacob Pretto H.	W.M.
	Joseph Daniel	S.W.
	Jb. M. Monsanto	J.W.
1844—1845.	Daniel Pretto, M.D.	W.M.
	David Levy	S.W.
	Jacob Oliveira	J.W.
1845—1846.	Daniel Pretto, M.D.	W.M.
	David Levy	S.W.
	Mordecai Sasso	J.W.

From a meeting held on February 12, 1846, the Warrant was in the custody of W.M. Daniel Pretto H., M.D., until his reconstruction of the Lodge in 1851.

1846—1851.	Daniel Pretto H., M.D.	W.M.
	David Levy	S.W.
	Mordecai Sasso	J.W.
1851—1852.	Daniel Pretto H., M.D.	W.M.
	Joseph Daniel	S.W.
	Mordecai Sasso	J.W.

LIST OF MASTERS FROM 1852 TO 1923.

1852—1859.	Daniel Pretto H., M.D.
1859—1860.	Peter G. Vessup
1860—1862.	Daniel Pretto H., M.D.
1862—1864.	A. E. Pretto
1864—1866.	Geo. A. Philips
1866—1868.	Edwin O. Roach
1868—1869.	E. V. Lavergne
1869—1870.	W. R. Bull
1870—1871.	Daniel Pretto H., M.D.
1871—1873.	Geo. A. Philips
1873—1874.	Francisco Fontana
1874—1876.	Joseph Fidanque
1876—1877.	Francisco Fontana
1877—1878.	W. R. Bull
1878—1879.	A. I. Sasso
1879—1881.	Francisco Fontana
1881—1882.	James Jabez Warner
1882—1883.	Thomas C. Philips
1883—1884.	James Jabez Warner
1884—1885.	Isidore Dyett Stobo
1885—1886.	Eduardo H. Moron
1886—1887.	Heinrich W. Michelsen
1887—1888.	Eduardo H. Moron
1888—1889.	Samuel Toledano
1889—1891.	William I. Stobo
1891—1892.	John N. Lightbourn
1892—1893.	Roberto Senior
1893—1895.	Orlando McConney
1895—1896.	Augustus Vance
1896—1898.	Max E. Trepuk
1898—1900.	G. L. A. A. Baerentzen
1900—1902.	John N. Lightbourn
1902—1904.	Alfredo Duurloo
1904—1906.	G. L. A. A. Baerentzen
1906—1908.	Carl A. Smidt
1908—1909.	John N. Lightbourn
1909—1910.	G. L. A. A. Baerentzen
1910—1911.	Carl A. Smidt
1911—1913.	George F. Robinson
1913—1914.	Edwin Louis M. Monsanto
1914—1915.	Christian F. Philipsen
1915—1916.	S. Malling-Holm
1916—1918.	Knud Knud-Hansen, M.D.
1918—1919.	Seir Malling-Holm
1919—1920.	Herbert Lockhart
1920—1921.	Isidro de Lugo
1921—1922.	Knud Knud-Hansen, M.D.
1922—1923.	Alfredo Duurloo

St. John's Day in Harvest.

TUESDAY, 24th JUNE, 1924.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall, at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., W.M.; J. Heron Lepper, S.W.; John Stokes, J.G.D., J.W.; Ed. Armitage, P.G.D., P.M., Treas.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.Pr.G.W., Berks., P.M., D.C.; George Norman, P.A.G.D.C., J.D.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M.; and W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. J. G. Rowntree, A. Belton, Geo. J. Clarke, F. J. Asbury, Albert E. Booker, Chas. Sinkins, W. J. Williams, as I.G., W. C. B. Mullett, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., R. J. Sadleir, R. C. Rann, J. Walter Hobbs, Ed. N. Phillips, D. Warliker, H. A. Badman, F. Fighiera, P.A.G.D.C., F. L. Found, Wm. Butcher, E. Ferrer, W. Young Hucks, W. L. Rind, C. M. Watts, A. F. Calvert, J. A. Cheston-Porter, W. Digby Ovens, Prince Constantine Lobanov-Rostovsky, G. Derrick, J. H. Earls, P. H. Horley, Wm. Lewis, H. W. Chetwin, F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., H. Bladon, P.G.St.B., J. F. H. Gilbard, A. D. Bowl, G. W. Bullamore, D. N. Youle, Rev. Dr. H. G. Rosedale, P.G.Ch., F. A. Powell, P.A.G.D.C., L. G. Wearing, G. W. Richmond, R. Wheatley, Ernest Ames, James Powell, P.A.G.Reg., W. R. Semken, and A. Ludlow.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. Robt. Milliken, P.M., Harmonie Lodge No. 282 (I.C.); A. H. Grocott, P.M., Temperance in the East Lodge No. 898; H. G. H. Shelton, P.M., Scotia Lodge No. 1008 (S.C.); John E. Raworth, Inventions Lodge No. 3776; F. de P. Castells, P.M., Lullingstone Lodge No. 1837; F. A. Sayer, P.M., Borough of Camberwell Lodge No. 3303; O. E. Aves, P.Pr.A.G.D.C., N. & E. Yorks.; and W. R. Makins, P.M., York Lodge No. 236.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from:—Bros. S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, S.D.; Rev. H. Poole, I.G.; R. H. Baxter, P.Pr.G.W., E.Lancs., I.P.M.; Geo. L. Shackles, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; J. P. Simpson, P.A.G.Reg., P.M.; W. Watson, P.A.G.D.C.; E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; and J. E. S. Tuckett, A.G.S.B., P.M.

One Lodge and twenty-seven Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The Secretary drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. J. Heron Lepper.

Portrait of the Earl of Rosse, Grand Master of Ireland, 1725 and 1730.

Certificate, St. Barchan's Lodge, I.C.

Apron, Royal Arch Lodge No. 159, I.C., revived in 1815.

By Bro. W. Wonnacott.

Watch, with various Emblems referring to the Order of Gregorians.

By Bro. G. Derrick.

Punch Bowl, Oriental Ware, with Masonic Emblems. This is the property of Mrs. Sarah Ann Byers, maiden name Ribett, who was born in Barbados in 1860, came to England on the decease of her parents, at the age of 19, married in London, and now resides here.

It is a tradition in her family that in 1769, or thereabouts, a 'Lord Rivers' eloped with a 'Lady Ann Courtenay,' taking passage to Barbados in an English Man of War. In the Register of the Cathedral at Barbados is an entry of their marriage, and one son was born who was named Peter Courtenay.

The father was accidentally shot in Barbados, while this son was in his infancy, and nothing more is known of the mother, who is presumed to have died about the same time. The son passed under the care of some local people and was known by the name of Ribett. He became 'Marshal of the Town,' and remained in Barbados until his death. His son and grandson were both named Courtenay Ribett, the word 'Ribbet' being assumed to be a mis-pronunciation of 'Rivers.' Mrs. Byers still owns property in Barbados, including a house known as 'Rivers Hope.'

The Masonic interest in the tale, which no doubt could easily be verified or otherwise, lies in the statement that 'Lord Rivers' and the Courtenay Ribetts were all Freemasons. It is not known when the Bowl first came into possession of the family.

A vote of thanks was passed to the Brethren who had sent these objects for Exhibition.

Bro. J. Walter Hobbs read the following paper:—

MR. ANTHONY SAYER: GENTLEMAN.

FIRST GRAND MASTER OF MASONS, 1717

BY BRO. J. WALTER HOBBS, P.M.

FOREWORD.

THE most elusive Brother among Masons is no doubt the first Grand Master whose election in 1717 was the outcome of the desire among the Masons of London and Westminster of that time to have a central controlling Body, for some reason other than that alleged by the Master of Imagination, Dr. James Anderson, twenty-one years later.

It was in the early part of the year 1916 in a conversation with the late Bro. Levander (at that time the W.M. of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge) and Bro. Songhurst, its Secretary, upon the subject of a Pedigree enquiry upon which I was then engaged, that they suggested I should at the same time "keep my eye open" for any traces of Bro. Anthony Sayer. I agreed to do this, and Bro. Levander kindly placed at my disposal the few items about a Sayer family which he had discovered. We all agreed that it meant a search at large, for no one could give any idea of who and what Bro. Sayer was, where he came from or his connections, or his position in life, and what special claims, if any, he had on the Brethren of that day to the position into which he was afterwards elevated. I was then optimistic, but must confess that often during the succeeding years I did not remain so, and had it not been for the encouragement and kindness of Bro. Songhurst and other Brethren of the Q.C. Lodge, I should have given up the task; and even so the result of my endeavours spread over the succeeding years has certainly not resulted in a complete success.

I have dealt with the subject under several heads in order to make a more coherent story than by merely stating the results of my enquiries, and in Appendices have set out fully the information I have thus obtained. I have noted the names of many Brethren to whom I have been indebted for help, and I regret that to some of them I am not now able to express my thanks personally, and cannot do more than record my thanks here.

I should like to add that among the many proofs of the value of the Q.C. Lodge to the Craft, and the promotion of knowledge of its history and work, is the outstanding fact that the Members of the Lodge without exception have been, and are, willing to place at the disposal of the real enquirer any information they have on the subject enquired about. To this spirit and the help so freely given I am much indebted, and can only hope, in return, to act in like manner.

J. WALTER HOBBS.

PART I.

ANTHONY SAYER. WAS HE A "GENTLEMAN"?

To answer this question satisfactorily involves the knowledge of his ancestry, life and works, and his personal character. The very object of my researches has been to find out something on these points, but it will have to be discussed on the known materials, and this can, I think, be done with some amount of certainty.

As a preliminary, one should take a short survey of the state of the Craft prior to the movement for a Grand Lodge, and for this purpose I disregard the historical allegations of Dr. Anderson, whose inaccuracies and actions have been shown to justify at least a hostile opinion. Equally do I disregard the modern theories of the Revival of the Craft for the purpose of Jacobinism or any other "ism." These are creations of modern writers arguing, in my judgment, from very doubtful facts and equally doubtful inferences.

It cannot, however, be denied that Anderson's account of the proceedings, and parties to the Grand Lodge formation are correct, for his publication of it took place in the lifetime of some of the principal actors, who would have known if the facts were not correctly stated. By this I mean the actual happenings, and not, for instance, the assumption that the old Brethren felt themselves neglected by Sir Christopher Wren, for had he really been the Grand Master as suggested the proper course would have been to have first removed him from his office before electing another to take the post. Indeed, there would have been in these circumstances, if true, ample justification for acting on the 19th of the Old Regulations of 1723 and 1738, had they existed previously to 1717.

Let us take the actual facts as stated by Anderson and see how far they carry us.

We have statements in the History contained in the 1723 *Constitutions*, which while they refer to Wren as an "ingenious Architect" do not claim him as a Grand Master, or even a member, of the Craft. But Anderson deals with the then state of the Craft as follows:—

> "And now the *Freeborn* BRITISH NATIONS disentangled from foreign and civil wars, and enjoying the good Fruits of Peace and Liberty, having of late much indulg'd their happy Genius for Masonry of every sort, and reviv'd the *drooping Lodges* of *London*, this fair *Metropolis* flourisheth, as well as other Parts, with several worthy *particular* Lodges, that have a quarterly *Communication* and an Annual *Grand Assembly*, wherein the *Forms* and *Usages* of the most ancient and worshipful Fraternity are wisely, and the *Royal Art* duly cultivated, and the *Cement* of the Brotherhood preserv'd; so that the whole Body resembles a well built *Arch*; several *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen* of the best Rank with Clergymen and learned Scholars of most Professions and Denominations having frankly join'd and submitted to take the *Charges*, and to wear the *Badges* of a *Free* and *Accepted* Mason, under our present worthy *Grand-Master, the most noble* PRINCE *John Duke of* MONTAGUE."

It will be observed that Anderson does not here describe the position as more than a revival of interest consequent on the cessation of National troubles. Incidentally this paragraph places those who refer to the formation (it never was more than a "revival" of the Annual Assembly however) of Grand Lodge as caused by the support of the Stuart cause, in a quandary unless they can explain away Anderson's statement above quoted.

Let us proceed to compare the statements in the 1738 *Constitutions* first remembering that circumstances had then considerably altered, and that at this time Anderson had very different reasons for his actions (see Bro. Vibert's Introduction to the Bi-centenary Facsimile of the *Constitutions* of 1723).

There are many alterations in the two Editions, indeed Anderson seemed unable to re-issue his *Constitutions*, or the Historical portion, without making many trivial as well as serious variations. The chief of these for the present purpose are those relating to Wren and the origin of Grand Lodge, the record of Grand Lodge proceedings and the variation in the 1st Charge about religion.

Wren first appears as the first named Grand Warden about 1660-3, and then later appears as Deputy, then D.G.M.—Grand Master Wren (probably an anticipatory statement of a later event) but in 1685 as being elected on the death of Lord Arlington, the Grand Master. In 1695—without any reference to Anderson's favourite expression, "demitting"—we find it alleged that the Duke of Richmond was chosen Grand Master and Wren appointed D.G.M. These are set out in bold distinctive type with Grand Wardens, but curiously enough we find tucked in without any such aids to the eye, or methods of attraction, the bald statement "and was again chosen Grand Master A.D. 1698." Apparently no new Grand Wardens were appointed, possibly the old ones were continued, but there is no statement of whether it was at the Annual Feast, or that any of the usual circumstances occurred. It looks as if on reading over his MS. or the Proofs, he noticed that his last statement as to the G.M. referred to the Duke, so he slipped in a few words to enable him to tack on his later allegations. We find (*Q.C.A.* vii., p. 106) that Wren while carrying on St. Paul's annually met the Brethren "to keep up good old usages." In the 19th Old Regulations of 1723 we find Anderson saying "hitherto the Ancient Fraternity have had no occasion for it, their former Grand Masters having all behaved themselves worthy of that honorable office," and we find him fifteen years later (1738) saying instead "Because hitherto the Ancient Fraternity have had no occasion for it" and as a New Regulation 19 that "The Freemasons firmly hope that there never will be any occasion for such a New Regulation." Yet at this same time he imports such a neglect of duty by Wren as to cause the four Old Lodges to think fit to cement under a Grand Master "finding themselves neglected by Sir Christopher Wren." Now this is clearly an invention for purposes of the Author and I do not further discuss it here as the subject is fully dealt with by Bro. Lionel Vibert before the Q.C. Lodge, and in his Introduction to the Bi-centenary Facsimile of the *Constitutions* of 1723. It is sufficient for the purpose of this paper to realise that Anderson's 1723 statements are at variance with those made by him in 1738. At the former date there were too many persons alive who participated in the formation of Grand Lodge—Wren himself died in 1723, and the needs of the Author had considerably altered by 1738.

To resume the comparison of the 1738 historical account with that of 1723 already given. We have in the former the following under the heading of:—

SAXON Kings of Great-Britain.

> "1. King George I. entered *London* most magnificently on 20 *Sept.* 1714, and after the Rebellion was over A.D. 1716. the few *Lodges* at *London* finding themselves neglected by Sir *Christopher Wren*, thought fit to cement under a *Grand Master* as the Center of Union and Harmony, *viz.* the *Lodges* that met.
>
> 1. At the *Goose* and *Gridiron* Ale-house in *St. Paul's Church-yard.*
> 2. At the *Crown* Ale-house in *Parker's Lane* near *Drury-Lane.*
> 3. At the *Apple-Tree* Tavern in *Charles-Street, Covent-Garden.*
> 4. At the *Rummer* and *Grapes* Tavern in *Channel-Row, Westminster.*
>
> They and some old Brothers met at the said *Apple-Tree*, and having put into the Chair the *oldest Master Mason* (now the *Master* of a *Lodge*) they constituted themselves a GRAND LODGE pro Tempore in *Due Form*, and forthwith revived the Quarterly *Communication* of the *Officers* of Lodges (call'd the *Grand Lodge*) resolv'd to hold the *Annual* Assembly and *Feast*, and then to chuse

a GRAND MASTER from among themselves, till they should have the Honour of a *Noble Brother* at their Head.

Accordingly

On *St. John Baptist's* Day in the 3d Year of King George I. A.D. 1717. the ASSEMBLY and *Feast* of the *Free and accepted Masons* was held at the foresaid *Goose* and *Gridiron* Ale-house.

Before Dinner, the *oldest Master* Mason (now the *Master* of a *Lodge*) in the Chair, proposed a List of proper Candidates; and the Brethren by a Majority of Hands elected

Mr. ANTONY SAYER Gentleman, *Grand Master of Masons*, who being forthwith (Capt. *Joseph Elliot*.) *Grand* invested with the (Mr. *Jacob Lamball*, Carpenter,) *Wardens*. Badges of Office and Power by the said *oldest Master*, and install'd, was duly congratulated by the Assembly who pay'd him the *Homage*.

SAYER *Grand Master* commanded the *Masters* and *Wardens* of Lodges to meet the *Grand* Officers every *Quarter* in *Communication*, at the place that he should appoint in his Summons sent by the *Tyler*."

Here then we see that a new reason is given for forming a Grand Lodge, which in 1723 was a revival of interest, and the existence of Grand Lodge is to be there inferred from, or indicated by, the words "that have a Quarterly Communication and an Annual Grand Assembly." The Quarterly Communication does not appear on Anderson's own showing till St. John Evangelist's Day (27th December) 1720, nor does any regular sequence of such appear till after the Duke of Montagu's accession. So that his 1723 statement on the subject is of a then recent occurrence. The idea seems clearly to have been to put down to the Duke all that Freemasonry then was. This was unnecessary in 1738 when it appeared more desirable to the Author to revise his history, to give a more continuous account down to the then date, and to justify the formation of Grand Lodge, then suffering from attacks, exposures and the like; so that an appearance of unbroken antiquity might be given to that body.

I have already pointed out the possibility that Anderson's statements of fact from 1717 may be correct. As to those in question here, we have the additional evidence of the 1st Minute Book of Grand Lodge 1723-1731 (*Q.C.A.* x., 196) where the names entered therein of the G.M.'s, Deputies and Wardens agree with those stated in Anderson's account in his 1738 History (I except the entries referring to himself which are notoriously fabrications by him).

We then have the incontestible fact that Bro. Anthony Sayer was elected "by a Majority of Hands" Grand Master of Masons. We may accept the fact that the voting was in his favour as against other candidates—and probably at later elections the names were written on papers as the votes were then "gather'd."

Taking, then, the plain facts as to the formation of Grand Lodge we find the following to be the state of affairs.

Four Old Lodges in London and Westminster, and some old Brothers, meet together. Anderson in the 1738 *Constitutions*, however, states (ch. 3, p. 107) there were Lodges at Southwark, St. Paul's and elsewhere, making seven or more in existence shortly prior to 1717. The Four Old Lodges we know, but who were the Old Brethren present and which of them first put forward the proposal? Who took the Chair at the meetings? We can only with certainty say that there were three Brethren known by name to us. What were the negotiations, if any, which took place between the first meeting and the day of the election? Who were the other candidates for election and were unsuccessful? Is it likely that any Brother would have commanded the suffrages of the Brethren of four Lodges and some unattached Brethren, who had no standing or position in ordinary life? Indeed, would the idea come from any but a man of affairs possessed of some education and vision? It is not unknown at the present

time that a member of any Body who proposes some new scheme or departure from precedent, is put into the place of responsibility for working out the scheme. I cannot understand why the possibility is ignored of Bro. Anthony Sayer having been if not the originator of the new departure, at least being a prime mover in it. In any case it needs no stretch of the imagination to assume that he was. Even if not, it would suggest still more that he was a man of position (as we should say, a big man), for it would be futile to suppose that anyone but a man who commanded respect and confidence would have been selected for the head of the new venture. This becomes the more certain if we have to assume that there may have been a compromise between two classes of Craftsmen, Operative and Speculative, which may be a fair assumption in view of the fact that some of the early Grand Wardens were respectively of those classes. The first two appear to be Speculatives, however.—A Captain and a Carpenter, the latter could only have been a Speculative as a Mason.—In such a case the need for a man of of standing looked up to by both sides was a *sine quâ non*. If my views so far are accepted we start with the proved need of a man above the ordinary rank and file. Such a man, I submit, was the one actually elected, Anthony Sayer Gent:, and I will now proceed to show my reasons for the statement.

Throughout we must bear in mind that we do not with certainty know anything about Bro. Anthony Sayer's position in life at that time. What happened to him later is another matter, not affecting this question, except that if he was a bad man then, he was perchance a bad man in 1717, but the assumption that his actions in 1730 were vicious or even wrong may be quite unfounded, for not only were those actions largely condoned, but they may have had quite a different and justifiable origin.

I should here mention the idea that Bro. Anthony Sayer's Petition in 1724, which was read and recommended by the then G.M. (the Duke of Richmond) to Grand Lodge, was for the purpose of charity (G.L. Minutes in *Q.C.A.* x., p. 9). No record appears to have been made on the subject of the Petition. If it was for charity one would have expected some reference to it, or to what was done, as was the case in regard to Henry Prichard earlier in the same year where particulars of the actual sums collected are stated and the receipt for the payment over of the total was copied into the book. I incline to the opinion that it had some other object. There was an interval of six years before Bro. Anthony Sayer's financial position was desperate. In connection with all Bro. Anthony Sayer's history 1717-1740 it would be well to consider Bro. J. E. Shum Tuckett's tentative suggestions in regard to "Dr. Anderson's First Charge" (*Trans.* of the Manchester Assocn. for Mas: Research 1921-2; pp. 61-88). The views put forward are well worthy of serious consideration and I should not be surprised if Bro. Anthony Sayer's Petition of 1724 had reference to those circumstances which Stukeley refers to as causing Freemasonry to take a run and running "itself out of breath thro' the folly of the members," or to the growing innovations, giving rise to, or consequent upon, the early unrest in the Craft; or more likely to the alteration created by the First Charge of 1723 itself. I cannot bring myself to believe that Bro. Anthony Sayer viewed without alarm, or allowed without protest, the alterations brought about in the original plan by those who pushed him aside and ran the Craft on other lines than probably both he and others who at first participated had contemplated. His actions in 1730 may have had the same purpose. In any case, however, I take it that he was in 1717 a man of good character.

It has been said that he was an Operative Mason, but this really means not a workman, but a Brother initiated in and member of an Operative Lodge. It has yet to be shown that the Lodge held at the Queen's Head in Knaves Acre was in 1717 wholly or mainly a Lodge of actual Operative Masons.

It has been also said that he was a Clerk in the Treasury. This was told to Bro. Levander and the statement put him in the way of a search in the Treasury Records, but it then appeared that the statement referred to a Sayer of much later date.

I have also heard it said that he was one of the clerks in Wren's drawing office, but no information on the point has been forthcoming or discovered by me. Even if he were a Drawing Office clerk he would be, one may suppose, a person of some education and ability.

Again, I have seen it stated that Sayer was a Painter, which may be another name for an Artist like Bro. Highmore, Bro. Hogarth, or Bro. Sir James Thornhill and others. But it may be another misstatement. I have found no evidence either way.

The assumption seems fairly general that he was a man of humble origin, but if you know anything at all as to the man's origin, it is quite as reasonable to assume he was a man of good position. The more so if the circumstances require such an one, and I have already shown that this was the case.

What, then, can be said on the point:—Was he a Gentleman?

We have first the statement by Anderson that "Mr. Anthony Sayer Gent." was elected. Now while one may rightly be suspicious of the accuracy of Anderson's History, it is hardly to be expected that he would make a wilful misstatement, either way, about a man who was at that moment a person of some eminence in the Craft.

In Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1723 we find in his list of Lodges (Masters and Wardens) who signed or approved the *Constitutions* (Bi-centenary Facsimile, p. 74):—

III.	John Turner	Master.
	Anthony Sayer Edward Cale	Wardens.
IV.	Mr. George Payne	Master.
	Stephen Hall M.D. Francis Sorell Esq.	Wardens.
V.	Mr. Math. Birkhead	Master.
	Francis Baily Nicholas Abraham	Wardens.

I here contrast the calling of Bro. George Payne as "Mr." with that of Bro. Matthew Birkhead as such—and with the former's Junior Warden, Francis Sorell "Esq." Now elsewhere there appears (p. 58) in the heading to the General Regulations "compiled first by Mr. George Payne Anno 1720," etc. The description of Mr. cannot be said to indicate that Bro. George Payne was not a man of position and influence.

The statement "Mr. Anthony Sayer," for instance, in the Grand Lodge Minute Book No. 1 of 1723-31 (*Q.C.A.* x., p. 196) is not contrary to the statement he was a "Gentleman," for notice the "Mr. John Beal M.D.," a position in life which could not be regarded as obscure. I regard this as evidence to be relied on.

Then we have the engraved portrait of Sayer painted by Bro. Highmore (who was a Grand Officer in the year 1727) and engraved by Faber. The date of the portrait is not certain, but if it was painted by order of the person represented and engraved at his cost he was not so badly off, although no doubt the Artists then did not get such fees as they do now. If the painting was later in date the statement had some authority for it. He is stated on the engraving to be a Gent:. Who is in a position to say, much more to prove, that Highmore and Faber were both parties to a distinct misrepresentation of fact. If they knew that Bro. Anthony Sayer was a person of low birth and position it is quite unlikely they would have been parties to such a statement. It is far more reasonable to suppose that the statement on the engraving is correct.

This is the more likely, from the fact that at that time the true social position of people was a matter of far greater care than now. We have now no hesitation in describing any man as "Esquire" who has no real right to such

an appellation. In those days it was not legal to describe a man but by his proper designation. Heralds Visitations were by no means extinct. The term "Gentleman" was then used in regard to one who was of the upper middle class, *i.e.*, between a Yeoman (a good and substantial class in those days) and the Nobility, but more loosely it meant one who was a Landowner and did not work for his living. Esquire then had its proper place as a designation, and the men who by that time had by reason of the then late Civil War and other National misfortunes, as well as the increase of Overseas venture, taken up Trade, Commerce and so forth had no scruples in putting, and indeed were proud to put, their actual profession or business description after their names as they were obliged to do.

Just look at Anderson's *Constitutions* of 1738 (*Q.C.A.* vii.) and see the care used in this respect. I refer to the Grand Masters and Wardens and to the D.G.M. when or where named:—

1717.	Mr. Antony Sayer	Gentleman.
	Capt. Joseph Elliott	
	Mr. Jacob Lamball	Carpenter.
1718.	George Payne Esq.	
	Mr. John Cordwell	City Carpenter.
	Mr. Thomas Morrice	Stone Cutter.
1719.	John Theophilus Desagulier	L.L.D. and F.R.S.
	Mr. Antony Sayer	foresaid.
	Mr. Tho. Morrice	foresaid.
1720.	George Payne Esq.	
	Mr. Thomas Hobby	Stonecutter.
	Mr. Richard Ware	Mathematician.
1721.	John Montagu Duke of Montagu	
	John Beal M.D.	(Deputy G.M.).
	Mr. Josiah Villeneau	(he was an Upholder).
	Mr. Thomas Morrice	
1722.	Philip Wharton Duke of Wharton	(Irregular).
	Mr. Joshua Timson	Blacksmith.
	Mr. William Hawkins	Mason.
1723.	Philip Duke of Wharton	(Regular).
	Dr. Desaguliers	(D.G.M.).
	Joshua Timson	foresaid.
	James Anderson A.M.	(Altered by him).
1724.	Francis Scot Earl of Dalkeith	
	Dr. Desaguliers	(D.G.M.).
	Francis Sorell Esq.	
	John Senex	Bookseller.

There is no need to extend this list, but it may be well to refer to:—

1727.	Henry Hare Lord Colerane.	
	Alexander Choke Esq.	(D.G.M.).
	Nathaniel Blackerby Esq.	
	Mr. Joseph Highmore	Painter.

In the Grand Lodge Minute Book No. 1, p. 103 (in the *Q.C.A.* x., p. 82), the description of Bro. Highmore is given as Joseph Highmore Esq., while at page 107 (85) he is described as "Gent." On pages 110 and 115 (88 and 93) as "Mr. Joseph Highmore." Now Bro. Highmore was not a "Painter" in the sense we regard the term to-day, but an Artist—pupil of Sir James Thornhill—both being members of the same Lodge.

The Grand Lodge Minutes may be taken as not giving any trade descriptions, but only those of quality, profession and distinction. Anderson, however, gives trades, for we have Carpenter; City Carpenter; Stone cutter (two); Mathematician; Blacksmith; Mason; Bookseller; Painter. Compare these with Gentleman; Captain; Esq. (five); L.L.D. and F.R.S.; M.D.; and his own description A.M. It appears clear, therefore, that Anderson contrasted what may be termed Trade descriptions, with those of quality, profession or distinction so that had Bro. Anthony Sayer been a person of corresponding position to that of, say, Jacob Lamball, Carpenter, we should expect to find the description of Bro. Anthony Sayer of some other character than that of "Gentleman."

The foregoing extracts give further point to my previous observations on the use of the term "Mr." in the Grand Lodge Minute Book, List of Grand Masters, etc., because taking Bro. Highmore's case we find Anderson calls him "Mr." and "Painter," while Grand Lodge Minutes refer to him variously as "Esq.," "Gent." and "Mr." Now Bro. Highmore would no doubt be much more entitled as an Artist to be called Esq. or Gent. than as a mere Painter. It is my opinion that Anderson in his account of Grand Lodge prior to the Minute Books was really using the Trade descriptions with the view of belittling that class of persons to exalt those of the high class socially, and that he was telling the truth when he called Bro. Anthony Sayer a "Gentleman." Moreover, Bro. Highmore was, the Grand Lodge Minutes state (they are fraternally silent as to Trade descriptions) an Esq. or a Gent.; and as such, or by his professional standing, and presumed knowledge of the etiquette as to titles and descriptions, he must have known whether he was right in permitting the engraving of his portrait of Bro. Anthony Sayer to describe him as a "Gentleman" or whether he was not. I, of course, refer to the latter's status at the time of his election and for some years onwards prior to 1730, as I think was the intention of those responsible for the Portrait and statement on the Engraving.

Let us consider a few facts about Bro. Highmore and his portrait of our Anthony Sayer. Bromley's "Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits" gives the Sayer engraving as 1750, but gives no authority for the statement. Bro. Highmore was born 1692 and died 1780. He commenced painting in 1715. He appears in Grand Lodge Minutes as a member of the Lodge at the Swan in East Street, Greenwich, in the list of 1723. He ceased painting in 1762, and was said to be able to "take a likeness by memory as well as by a sitting." Mention may be made of Bro. Faber, the Engraver, who was Grand Steward for the Festival of May, 1739—probably died 1756. If we assume the portrait was painted and engraved at any time after 1730, the fact that it depicts an apparently elderly man may support this, but on the dates our Anthony Sayer was not less than forty-five in 1717 or fifty-eight in 1730, either age being doubtless sufficient to justify the appearance in the portrait. If Bromley's date is accepted, our Anthony Sayer would have been dead eight years, and the portrait was the effort of Highmore's memory. Still, if his memory was sufficient for that purpose it was sufficiently good to enable him to describe his sitter's social status correctly. One would like to know when and where our Anthony Sayer and Bro. Highmore last met, but, of course, this would only go to the support or otherwise of the accuracy of Bro. Highmore's memory. In this case also, who commissioned the painting and the engraving? If it was a speculation on the part of the Artist and Engraver, our Brother Anthony Sayer's original reputation survived his poverty and death. I cannot at present bring myself to the view that for long prior to 1730 he was in a state of poverty or misfortune, as it is clear he had become when petitioning Grand Lodge in that year.

Some evidence of a remote character may be fairly inferred from the report of Bro. Sayer's death and burial, as given in the newspaper of the time. The *London Evening Post* of 16th-19th January, 1742.

> A few days since died, aged about 70 years, Mr. Anthony Sayer, who was Grand-Master of the most Ancient and Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons in 1717. His corpse was followed by

> a *great number of Gentlemen* of that Honorable Society *of the best Quality*, from the Shakespear's Head Tavern in the Piazza in Covent Garden, and decently interred in Covent Garden Church.

The foregoing is taken from the Note by Bro. Songhurst in his transcript of the Grand Lodge Minute Book No. 1 (*A.Q.A.* x., p. 59), but the italics are mine.

It seems to me that, if Bro. Sayer had been a disreputable old man of no original family position and substance, his interment would not have been attended (even giving credit for much fraternal good feeling) by "a great number of Gentlemen of that Honorable Society" of any rank, much less by a great number of Brethren "of the best Quality." He must in any case have been remembered with some amount of esteem and honour, notwithstanding his misfortune and poverty, and this act of respect to departed merit must, I think, be regarded as not rendered on that account only, but as shown by "a great number of Gentlemen of the best Quality" to one who had once been "of the best Quality" like themselves.

In the wide range over which my searches and enquiries have extended during the past seven years or more, it is true I have not discovered our Brother himself, or his parentage. In the circumstances detailed later, however, sufficient reasons appear for this result. I here admit that I am to a large extent about to reason by inference or deduction or perhaps also from some expectation, but it must be borne in mind that during all the long time of my search, labour and investigation into the persons, property, position and the facts as to many Sayer families, I have accumulated much that has led me to a frame of mind which any reader of these lines cannot appreciate who has not had the same experience and matters before him. In the course of my former long professional career I have found that in pedigree matters, especially in regard to persons and events during troublous and disturbed times, it is necessary and even justifiably possible, to presume the existence of persons and their relations from very scanty evidence of a positive character. Then, too, one must have regard to, and rely upon, circumstances and possibilities small and insignificant in themselves, valueless in the face of clearly proved facts, but valuable in their absence so long as not inconsistent with what is really known. Such circumstances may relate to usages in families, the transmission of some Christian name to elder sons (a very well-known practice, especially in former days and in families of position and standing) or the like, although any inference or deduction therefrom may be displaced or destroyed upon the discovery or production of more definite proof; but in the absence of such definite proof the inference or deduction remains the best evidence available. I have kept these and similar points in mind in arriving at my opinions herein expressed.

What, then, has been the result achieved by my long, laborious, often tedious, but all the same interesting research on this subject?

(a) In the first place our Bro. Anthony Sayer has not yet been found.

(b) The really startling circumstance, and for reasons which will appear later, almost conclusive result on direct proof, is that there is in all the Sayer families dealt with *only one* in which the Christian name Anthony appears, but in which it is perpetuated through four generations covering the material period of time involved in the enquiry.

(c) The source from which this Christian name was derived has been conclusively ascertained, viz., from one Anthony Pyseley the Godfather of the first Anthony Sayers whose family is referred to in (b).

(d) Our Anthony Sayer died in 1742 being about seventy years old, which would give the date of his birth as approximately 1670-1672. There is direct evidence that one Joseph Sayer married on the 25th December, 1665, Mary Pyseley a descendant or connection of the above-named

Anthony Pyseley. My opinion is (having due regard to all the circumstances and considerations, for and against) that our Anthony Sayer was a child of this marriage.

(e) These Sayers (and many others) and Pyseleys were all located within a limited area in Berkshire and an adjacent part of Oxfordshire, which I have sketched on the Map referred to later on and which I have described as the "Berkshire area."

(f) The above were of the class we should term Landed Gentry. There is direct evidence that the Anthony Sayer family (b) and the Pyseley family (c) and (d) owned considerable properties in the Berkshire area, and it is not an unimportant circumstance (it is proved beyond question) that these properties as a whole, or the major part of them, were sold in 1727 to Robert Hucks of St. Giles, London, an ancestor of the present R.W. Bro. Lord Aldenham, in whose possession they still are. If, then, one may assume that our Anthony Sayer stood in the line of succession to some or all of these, or possibly other lands which were then or thereabouts sold by a person having prior rights, this may well have been one of the contributory causes to his poverty in 1730.

(g) It is clear that members of the Anthony Sayer family and other Sayers of the Berkshire area were settled in London and elsewhere during the material period of the enquiry, were in good positions in life, and some Masonic connections can be traced.

(h) There is a curious confusion of the names Sayer and Sawyer, and while I have already referred to the sole family of Anthony Sayers, the only family of Sawyers found with that Christian name first imported the name Anthony *circa* 1713 from an entirely different source, viz., from the marriage of John Sawyer of Haywood with Anna, daughter of Anthony Duncombe (Earl of Feversham, later). Haywood is near Maidenhead, and not in the Berkshire area although in that County.

(i) Many of the Sayers of the Berkshire area as well as those located elsewhere are shown to be well connected, leading men in professions of the Law, the Church, the Army, Navy, East Indian ventures and other positions of note. I admit that unless our Anthony Sayer can be in fact connected with some or one of these it does not carry us home, but it shows that the Sayer families were very largely of good position and fortune. If there had been none such, but only men of lowly birth and status the argument against my view would be of weight; as it is, the inference can only be in favour of my opinion.

(j) Localities in London now of no pretensions or social importance, were in the early eighteenth century of much higher class, and more patronised as residential districts by the better class. Great Queen Street and Lincolns Inn Fields now share with St. Martin's, St. Giles' and Soho the decadence consequent upon the shifting class of residents and the general trend of higher Society to the Westward.

To sum up this portion of my narrative, I say without hesitation that upon the fullest consideration of all the facts and circumstances herein set forth (not alone in this part of my story) I am fully and decidedly of opinion that Bro. Anthony Sayer was properly described, and in fact was, at his election as First Grand Master of Masons, a Gentleman. This point will be further discussed in other parts of my story upon other facts and circumstances related therein, but this further discussion only goes to amplify my views as here stated.

PART II.

(A). THE SAYERS OF THE BERKSHIRE AREA.

The Anthony Sayer Family.

It is a remarkable thing that of all the Sayer families whose pedigree has been more or less investigated there is only one family in which the Christian name Anthony appears, and this is the more remarkable because during the course of these investigations the name of over 508 Sayers have been discovered. Now this family which I term the Anthony Sayer family were located in the valley of the Thames between the bend of the river from Moulsford to Oxford—they were found scattered along the Northern side of the Berkshire Downs between Reading and Newbury, and their relationship extended across the river into Oxfordshire, chiefly in the Parish of Clifton Hampden. (See Map.) The first of this family was Nicholas Sayer of East Hagbourne, who died 1566, succeeded by Nicholas Sayer of Long Wittenham 1596, from whom came so far as I can judge Nicholas Sayer, who died prior to 1642. Now this Nicholas Sayer left a son John Sayer, and it was his eldest son, born 1616, who imported the Christian name of Anthony. This appears from (Appendix E.) [1] where in a deed dated 4th September 1624, Anthony Pyseley of Clifton, in consideration of his natural love and affection for the said Anthony Sayer, who was his godchild, settled lands on Anthony and his heirs male. This Anthony Sayer (the first) was married and left a large family and died in 1663 at Clifton Hampden: his eldest son Anthony (the second) born 1658, married Sarah Pyseley also born 1658, the date of the marriage being 1680. This Anthony died 1692 (B., p. 31) and his widow Sarah in 1723. The eldest son of this marriage also called Anthony (the third) was born 1683, married Mary Barnes 1711 and died 1740. On the occasion of this marriage Anthony's mother Sarah settled property consisting of, leasehold, a malthouse and lands subject to paying thereout to Sarah the sum of £500—this land must have been valuable in order to provide the widow's portion and leave a sufficient estate for the benefit of Anthony under the settlement, and this appears to be likely because in 1701 Sarah acquired for the sum of £360 then paid a lease of part of the property, and from another source she acquired a lease of other property for £140, which two sums correspond with the amount paid to Sarah in 1711 by the Trustees of her son Anthony on his marriage to Mary Barnes. The marriage of Anthony (the third) and Mary resulted in a large family, the first of whom was a son Anthony (the fourth) born 1715. This Anthony married about 1740 and had three children, Mary, John and Francis: this pedigree (F., No. 1) therefore has now reached a period beyond which it is not needful to pursue it.

The connection between the Sayers and the Pyseleys is abundantly clear, and there is but little doubt that the Pyseley family were wealthy. If reference be made to the Pyseley pedigree (F., No. 2) and from the deeds, particulars of which can be referred to (E.) it will be seen that on the 12th January 1727, Anthony Pyseley of Oxford sold to Robert Hucks of St. Giles, London, the impropriation of Clifton with all tithes and lands held therewith and lands in Clifton in the occupation of Anthony Sayer. These lands, tithes, etc., so sold to Robert Hucks of St. Giles, London, are now the property of R.W. Bro. Lord Aldenham, and I must express my gratitude to our R.W. Bro. for his kindness in referring to the ancient muniments relating to his estate for these periods, and thus assisting to clear up the mystery of the Anthony Sayer family. So far we have no suggestion as to our Anthony Sayer, Gentleman, but from the particulars already given it is clear he is one of a branch of the Sayer family that must be looked for elsewhere. A probable line of family where he might be found, indeed, I think it certain such a line would be derived, from the

[1] The letters and figures in brackets which follow refer to the Appendices.

marriage of Joseph Sayer and Mary Pyseley at Clifton Hampden on the 25th December 1665 (C., p.3), but, so far, I have not been able to trace any descendants of this marriage. I will discuss this point further in dealing with the various Joseph Sayers I have discovered, but it will be well to mention here the fact that the later Pyseley family, other than the earlier Pyseleys, were chiefly located at Little Wittenham on the Berkshire side of the river opposite Clifton Hampden, and as will be seen (C.) the registers of the Church there for the time in question are now non-existent, although there may be some chance that a visitation copy may be in existence at Salisbury, in which Diocese Little Wittenham was situated at the period in question. The fact that Mary Pyseley was a member of a family in which the name of Anthony was perpetuated not only in the Pyseley family but in the Sayer family already dealt with, appears to give good ground to infer that if these parties had a son born about 1670 the probabilities are that the Christian name Anthony would be adopted and that the dates would be sufficiently near to justify the assumption that such a son was our Anthony Sayer, Gentleman, who at his death in 1742 was taken to be about seventy years old.

Let me summarise conclusions in regard to the Anthony Sayer and Pyseley families. It cannot be doubted from the contents of deeds (E.) and wills and other testamentary documents (B.) and to some extent from other facts apparent to me throughout my research, that these families were of good standing, indeed if not exactly County families, at least Landed Gentry; ultimately in cases diverging towards Trade and Commerce, as well as following learned professions, as regards collaterals at least. If one has regard to the values of money two and a half centuries ago, as compared with the values pre-war or to-day even, it cannot be doubted that these families were of the class of substantial people who formed, then and afterwards, the backbone of the English people, although a century earlier they descended from the good old yeoman class. If, therefore, we are able correctly to infer from all the circumstances that our Anthony Sayer was a scion of the Sayer and Pyseley families already dealt with it would not be straining the case to say that he came of a family entitled to be called "Gentle."

John Sayer, Citizen of London.

The first Anthony Sayer had a brother John, born 1622 (F., Nos. 1 and 3). During the course of my investigations I found several John Sayers but the one nearest and most likely to be the John Sayer brother of the first Anthony is John Sayer, Citizen and Fishmonger of London. He died 20th July 1687, and owned property in the Counties of Oxford, Berks and in the City of London and its suburbs and in several other places. It is the ownership of propery in the neighbourhood of Clifton Hampden and other places in the Berkshire area which, in the main, leads me to believe that he was the brother of Anthony Sayer (the first).

Amongst the property owned by this John Sayer was "The Rose and Crown" in New King Street, Westminster, as to which law proceedings at the instance of this John were brought in 1654 (D., p. 9). At this "Rose and Crown" it appears there was held a Masonic Lodge which is referred to in the Grand Lodge Minute Book No. 1, *Q.C.A.* x., pp. 7 (1723), 9 (1725), and does not, apparently, appear later. It is to be noticed that one member of this Lodge at the latter date is Henry Prichard, presumably the Bro. whose case arising from his assault upon a traducer of the Craft was dealt with by Grand Lodge on 19th February, 1724, raising a subscription to recoup him the damages and costs he had to pay. The Lodge at the "Rose and Crown" contributed £1 1s. 0d.

By the will of this John (B., p. 19) it appears that he had a somewhat large family, and included in the gifts made by his will one to his sister Mary (F., No. 1.).

From his will John Sayer appears to have been extremely wealthy because the legacies given by him amount to £4,350, and he directed £150 to be spent on his funeral.

One son of this John was Thomas Sayer who was entered in 1669 at Oxford University and ultimately became Fellow of St. John's, Vicar of various places, Archdeacon of Surrey and Canon of Winchester. (See B., p. 57; D., 34; and G., No. 1). He became a D.D. in 1691, and died in 1710.

John Sayer of St. Martins in the Fields.

Another John Sayer disclosed during the investigations and partly from information obtained by the late Bro. Levander and placed by him at my disposal was Master Cook to Charles the Second. He died 1683, and from his will (B., p. 15) he was extremely wealthy and owned properties at Berkhamsted and had rights over the Manors of Berkhamsted and Hertford and his executors included "my hon. good friends Sir Stephen Fox, Kt. Sir Robert Sawyer, Kt. H.M. Atty. General (F., 12) and my loving kinsman Mr. Joseph Sayer, Clerk, Rector of Berkhamsted St. Mary." It will be seen by the pedigree (F., No. 4) that this John had a son Edward, and this Edward died shortly before 1726 and owned the Manor of Chilton, near Didcot, Berkshire, and other properties in the Berkshire area (B., 76). This Edward had three daughters, Mary who died in 1728, Sarah who died 1729, and Judith who married Peter St. Eloy of Doctors Commons, who was a Lawyer and Notary Public. From the very unusual nature of this name I think there is no doubt that this person was the same as the Peter St. Eloy who is recorded in the Grand Lodge Minute Book No. 1 (*Q.C.A.* x., p. 35) as a member of the Lodge held at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar (1725).

For some references to above see (B., pp. 70, 75 and 76). I am inclined to think that as this John Sayer, who by the way was an "Armiger," see his will and (G., No. 9), being not only kinsman to Joseph Sayer of Berkhamsted, who came from Yattenden, Berks., but had (at least his son Edward had) lands in the Berkshire area, would prove to be a collateral to the Anthony Sayer family.

Edward Sayer, the son referred to above, was a Lawyer, and published an Abridgement of the Common Law in 1709 (see lawsuit about this, D., p. 31, and other lawsuits, D., pp. 22 and 28). The late Bro. Hextall kindly told me of this publication.

John Sayer of St. James's, Piccadilly.

Still another John Sayer (F., No. 5); he appears to have been a comparatively young man as in his will dated 1707 (B., p. 50) he refers to a Brother and Sister who had not attained twenty-one. He died in 1708, and is described as a "Sopemaker." He was evidently wealthy, for he owned land in Albemarle Fields, St. James's, Piccadilly, and at Swanscombe, Kent; also lands at Hagbourne in the Berkshire area. His executor was his Uncle John Cholmeley, described as an "Armiger." This possession of lands in the Berkshire area suggests a collateral relationship to the Sayers there—if not a direct descent. His lands in Albemarle Fields and St. James's were dealt with (G., No. 4). The relatives of this John Sayer migrated to Guildford, but the family history does not assist the subject of this enquiry.

The Joseph Sayer Families.

I have mentioned already the Joseph Sayer who married Mary Pyseley in 1665. There appear particulars of pedigrees (F., No. 6) of the Joseph Sayers whom I have been able to discover so far.

Foremost of these is the Rev. Joseph Sayer of Newbury and afterwards of Berkhamsted mentioned as the Executor of John Sayer, the King's Master Cook. This Joseph was son of Francis Sayer of Yattenden, matriculated at the University of Oxford (G., No. 1) in 1647, and obtained his B.D. 1670,

marriage of Joseph Sayer and Mary Pyseley at Clifton Hampden on the 25th December 1665 (C., p.3), but, so far, I have not been able to trace any descendants of this marriage. I will discuss this point further in dealing with the various Joseph Sayers I have discovered, but it will be well to mention here the fact that the later Pyseley family, other than the earlier Pyseleys, were chiefly located at Little Wittenham on the Berkshire side of the river opposite Clifton Hampden, and as will be seen (C.) the registers of the Church there for the time in question are now non-existent, although there may be some chance that a visitation copy may be in existence at Salisbury, in which Diocese Little Wittenham was situated at the period in question. The fact that Mary Pyseley was a member of a family in which the name of Anthony was perpetuated not only in the Pyseley family but in the Sayer family already dealt with, appears to give good ground to infer that if these parties had a son born about 1670 the probabilities are that the Christian name Anthony would be adopted and that the dates would be sufficiently near to justify the assumption that such a son was our Anthony Sayer, Gentleman, who at his death in 1742 was taken to be about seventy years old.

Let me summarise conclusions in regard to the Anthony Sayer and Pyseley families. It cannot be doubted from the contents of deeds (E.) and wills and other testamentary documents (B.) and to some extent from other facts apparent to me throughout my research, that these families were of good standing, indeed if not exactly County families, at least Landed Gentry; ultimately in cases diverging towards Trade and Commerce, as well as following learned professions, as regards collaterals at least. If one has regard to the values of money two and a half centuries ago, as compared with the values pre-war or to-day even, it cannot be doubted that these families were of the class of substantial people who formed, then and afterwards, the backbone of the English people, although a century earlier they descended from the good old yeoman class. If, therefore, we are able correctly to infer from all the circumstances that our Anthony Sayer was a scion of the Sayer and Pyseley families already dealt with it would not be straining the case to say that he came of a family entitled to be called "Gentle."

John Sayer, Citizen of London.

The first Anthony Sayer had a brother John, born 1622 (F., Nos. 1 and 3). During the course of my investigations I found several John Sayers but the one nearest and most likely to be the John Sayer brother of the first Anthony is John Sayer, Citizen and Fishmonger of London. He died 20th July 1687, and owned property in the Counties of Oxford, Berks and in the City of London and its suburbs and in several other places. It is the ownership of propery in the neighbourhood of Clifton Hampden and other places in the Berkshire area which, in the main, leads me to believe that he was the brother of Anthony Sayer (the first).

Amongst the property owned by this John Sayer was "The Rose and Crown" in New King Street, Westminster, as to which law proceedings at the instance of this John were brought in 1654 (D., p. 9). At this "Rose and Crown" it appears there was held a Masonic Lodge which is referred to in the Grand Lodge Minute Book No. 1, *Q.C.A.* x., pp. 7 (1723), 9 (1725), and does not, apparently, appear later. It is to be noticed that one member of this Lodge at the latter date is Henry Prichard, presumably the Bro. whose case arising from his assault upon a traducer of the Craft was dealt with by Grand Lodge on 19th February, 1724, raising a subscription to recoup him the damages and costs he had to pay. The Lodge at the "Rose and Crown" contributed £1 1s. 0d.

By the will of this John (B., p. 19) it appears that he had a somewhat large family, and included in the gifts made by his will one to his sister Mary (F., No. 1.).

From his will John Sayer appears to have been extremely wealthy because the legacies given by him amount to £4,350, and he directed £150 to be spent on his funeral.

One son of this John was Thomas Sayer who was entered in 1669 at Oxford University and ultimately became Fellow of St. John's, Vicar of various places, Archdeacon of Surrey and Canon of Winchester. (See B., p. 57; D., 34; and G., No. 1). He became a D.D. in 1691, and died in 1710.

John Sayer of St. Martins in the Fields.

Another John Sayer disclosed during the investigations and partly from information obtained by the late Bro. Levander and placed by him at my disposal was Master Cook to Charles the Second. He died 1683, and from his will (B., p. 15) he was extremely wealthy and owned properties at Berkhamsted and had rights over the Manors of Berkhamsted and Hertford and his executors included "my hon. good friends Sir Stephen Fox, Kt. Sir Robert Sawyer, Kt. H.M. Atty. General (F., 12) and my loving kinsman Mr. Joseph Sayer, Clerk, Rector of Berkhamsted St. Mary." It will be seen by the pedigree (F., No. 4) that this John had a son Edward, and this Edward died shortly before 1726 and owned the Manor of Chilton, near Didcot, Berkshire, and other properties in the Berkshire area (B., 76). This Edward had three daughters, Mary who died in 1728, Sarah who died 1729, and Judith who married Peter St. Eloy of Doctors Commons, who was a Lawyer and Notary Public. From the very unusual nature of this name I think there is no doubt that this person was the same as the Peter St. Eloy who is recorded in the Grand Lodge Minute Book No. 1 (*Q.C.A.* x., p. 35) as a member of the Lodge held at the Devil Tavern, Temple Bar (1725).

For some references to above see (B., pp. 70, 75 and 76). I am inclined to think that as this John Sayer, who by the way was an "Armiger," see his will and (G., No. 9), being not only kinsman to Joseph Sayer of Berkhamsted, who came from Yattenden, Berks., but had (at least his son Edward had) lands in the Berkshire area, would prove to be a collateral to the Anthony Sayer family.

Edward Sayer, the son referred to above, was a Lawyer, and published an Abridgement of the Common Law in 1709 (see lawsuit about this, D., p. 31, and other lawsuits, D., pp. 22 and 28). The late Bro. Hextall kindly told me of this publication.

John Sayer of St. James's, Piccadilly.

Still another John Sayer (F., No. 5); he appears to have been a comparatively young man as in his will dated 1707 (B., p. 50) he refers to a Brother and Sister who had not attained twenty-one. He died in 1708, and is described as a "Sopemaker." He was evidently wealthy, for he owned land in Albemarle Fields, St. James's, Piccadilly, and at Swanscombe, Kent; also lands at Hagbourne in the Berkshire area. His executor was his Uncle John Cholmeley, described as an "Armiger." This possession of lands in the Berkshire area suggests a collateral relationship to the Sayers there—if not a direct descent. His lands in Albemarle Fields and St. James's were dealt with (G., No. 4). The relatives of this John Sayer migrated to Guildford, but the family history does not assist the subject of this enquiry.

The Joseph Sayer Families.

I have mentioned already the Joseph Sayer who married Mary Pyseley in 1665. There appear particulars of pedigrees (F., No. 6) of the Joseph Sayers whom I have been able to discover so far.

Foremost of these is the Rev. Joseph Sayer of Newbury and afterwards of Berkhamsted mentioned as the Executor of John Sayer, the King's Master Cook. This Joseph was son of Francis Sayer of Yattenden, matriculated at the University of Oxford (G., No. 1) in 1647, and obtained his B.D. 1670,

and was successively Rector of Yattenden 1656, Newbury 1663, Sulham 1674, Berkhamsted 1675 and Canon of Salisbury and Archdeacon of Lewes. He died 1694, and under his will (B., p. 88) he left a small sum for the poor of Yattenden. Bro. Hextall kindly referred me to a report of a sermon preached by this Joseph Sayer at the opening of the Assizes at Reading in 1673, which gave me a clue to his identity and resulted in the above information about him.

None of the enquiries about the Joseph Sayers have so far led to any information bearing directly on the subject of my searches.

The Sayers of Yattenden.

Mention may also be made of the family of Sayers of Yattenden, of which the Rev. Joseph Sayer before referred to was a member (F., 14). The recurrence of the surname Francis creates some confusion as there were two families in which this surname appeared living in the same district, but as the connection of the Anthony Sayer family appears to be somewhat distant this is not material for the present purpose; the point of the matter is, that in the Yattenden family there were several clergy and others whose position as well to do and highly educated persons cannot be doubted (G., No. 1). Connected with this family were the Sayers of Wallingford, particulars of whom appear in (F., No. 7), and in the wills and other records available these are mainly described as Gentlemen.

Jonathan Sayer of Henley, one of this family (F., No. 8). His will (B., 82) shows that he was well to do, and oddly enough states his desire to be buried at midnight. The reference to some of the legal proceedings (Nos. 21 and 23) also shows that they were people of substance and position.

Strangely enough a branch of the family of Jonathan Sayer were concerned with one Anthonio Leaver, Junior, possibly related to Elizabeth Leaver the person named in the Registers of Clifton Hampden by her having written in them (C., p. 4). It is quite possible that there was some connection with the Sayer families as he was one of the Executors of Peter Sayer—the others being William Button and Jonathan Sayer (B., 28), both described as Uncles.

Anthonio suggests the Christian surname of Anthony at least (see also D., No. 21).

This same Jonathan was grandson of Richard Sayer of East Hagbourne in the Berkshire area, where he was the owner of lands as appears by his will (B., 16).

Several of this family were *Alumni* of Oxford (G., 1).

Other Sayer Families of the Locality.

Of course, other families have been found, but not to assist in clearing up the mystery of our Anthony Sayer. Of those in the locality of the Berkshire area, or located in it, mention may be made of the following, although not exhausting those discovered and noted in the Appendices:—

Sayers of Aston Tirrold.—Of this family John Sayer was a Trustee of the Anthony Sayer settlement of 1711 (E.) with Edward Pyseley, and may therefore be a Brother of that Anthony or a collateral connection. This family were landowners of some value (D., 39).

Sayers of Harwell were connections of the Anthony Sayers and John Sayer, Citizen of London (D., 53; C., 17). The Register book of this Parish was sold to the Churchwardens by Anthony Pyseley of Oxford, 1688 (C., 17). The Keat family mentioned (D., 53) as owners of Manors were related to the Sayer families as is shown (C., 17).

Sayers of Didcot; East Hagbourne; and Costott.—From the materials available in the Appendices it could be shown that there was a family relationship between these branches and the Anthony Sayer and other branches in the Berkshire area and the County, but as no reference to another Anthony

was found at all, which was the main object in view, this part of the enquiry was not pursued although the original Nicholas Sayer, the common ancestor of the Anthony Sayers and other families, was located in East Hagbourne in 1566 or earlier (E.).

We can now proceed to deal with some of the Sayer families outside the Berkshire area.

(B.). OTHER SAYER FAMILIES.

The Sayers of Kent.

A family ultimately settled in Kent begins so far as we need regard it with Domina Katherine Sayer, Widow, of St. Martins in the Fields, who died 1702. The children of herself and deceased husband George Sayer, who was apparently a Knight, were George described as an Armiger of Charing, died 1718, of whose marriage there was a son George, died 1733, whose descendants owned large properties in the neighbourhood of Maidstone, some deeds relating to which came before me and extracts are given (E., No. 2) from which it can be seen that Mary Sayer (in the deed called Sawyer of Haywood in the County of Berks.) settled certain property in the County of Hereford, and she was no doubt an ancestor of the Sayers of Kent, and as she came from Berkshire it will be found (F., No. 9) that the Sawyers of Haywood, as they finally became, included Sir Edward Sawyer, H.M. Atty. General, named in the will of John Sayer, H.M. Master Cook. I think it is quite possible that they were more or less distantly related to the Sayers of the Berkshire area. It is in connection with the Sawyers that the only other instances of the Christian name of Anthony occurs, namely, in the deed of 20th February, 1700 (E., 2), last mentioned there is a reference to Anthony, Earl of Kent, while it is elsewhere shown (F., No. 12) that Edward Sawyer of Haywood married a daughter of Anthony Duncombe (Earl of Feversham's family) and they had a son named Anthony, but these are merely incidental occurrences and have no bearing on the present subject. It will be convenient here to discuss the relation of the name Sayer to the name Sawyer.

Reverting to the Sayers of the Berkshire area it appears that in the Clifton Hampden Registers (C., p. 1-8) the name variously appears as Sawyer—Sayer—and various forms suggesting an attempt to spell Sayer by an illiterate person. Clergymen in those days were not all literates, or a stranger acting temporarily or the Sexton may have written phonetically. It also appears that in the deeds belonging to Lord Aldenham the word Sayer is used in a deed of 8th June 1711, and Sarah Sayer, Widow, so described signed her name as Sarah Sayer, but her son, described as Anthony Sayer, signs Sawyer. Another instance also appears of the word Sawyer being used for an individual who signs his will Sayer (B., 81). Lord Aldenham explains as to this variation and other matters in a letter to me that the pronounciation in the district of Sawyer, which is pronounced Sair, although written Sawyer. I have added an extract from the letter (G., No. 3). The instance of the will of Joseph Sawyer (B., 81) is already given where he signs Sayer without any reference being made to the apparent discrepancy in the official document. This largely supports the opinion expressed by Bro. Songhurst in his notes to the Transcript of the Grand Lodge Minute Book (*Q.C.A.* x., p. 196), where the name of our Anthony Sayer is entered over an erasure, which discloses, in his opinion, the fact that the writer had originally written the name Sawyer and erased the word, substituting Sayer for it. This to some extent corroborates my view that our Anthony Sayer was a member of one of the families in the Berkshire area. I may add that, with Bro. Songhurst's view in mind, I have throughout kept observation on all entries relating to Sawyers, and had there been anything revelant to the present question in such entries I should have noticed it for future investigation.

The Procurators General.

There was a Sayer family (F., 10) located at the time in question near London and in Doctors Commons beginning with John Sayer of St. Mary's, Islington, died 1690. His children and most of their male descendants were Procurators General in the High Court of Admiralty, one was Counsel to the East India Company and the later generation gave Exton Sayer, who was a man of great substance and position who died 1731 having been M.P. for Totnes, Surveyor General of Lands, Chancellor of Durham, and was married to Agnes Talbot, sister of the first Lord Talbot, who prior to his elevation to the Peerage was a Lawyer of great eminence and Attorney General and afterwards Lord Chancellor (G., 5). Everard Sayer also a Procurator General and of high position and standing, was also wealthy, and the Rev. George Sayer, D.D., was Vicar of Witham, Essex, 1722-1761, Prebendary, Canon, and Archdeacon, of Durham and Rector of Bocking, Essex, and died 1761. Incidentally it may be mentioned that in this family various lawsuits supervened (D., 41, 45, 49, 52), and one of them by reason of the loss of settlement money invested in the South Sea Company (D., 29). This family came from Yorkshire, the ancestral home being at Croft, but it might be possible to ascertain some of the collateral branches of this family and to find out whether they were connected with the Sayers of Berkshire area, owing to a similarity of Christian names. They owned property also in Shoreditch, and St. Botolphs-without Aldgate (G., 4).

John Sayer of St. Pauls, Covent Garden.

Some particulars of John Sayer of St. Pauls, Covent Garden, died 1684, were discovered (F., 11; B., 16; D., 13 and 22), but all efforts to improve on this came to nothing. It will be remembered that our Anthony Sayer was buried at St. Pauls, Covent Garden. Incidentally there is a reference to a John Sayer, grandson to the John referred to above, who might be the John Sayer who petitioned to be relieved by Grand Lodge in 1730, but, of course, this is a mere guess, although if he was the John Sayer who was sued in 1709 as to a bet (D., 22), it may be he lived wildly.

Sayers of St. Martins in the Fields.

Several Sayer families were located here—the most notable were John Sayer, the Master Cook to King Charles II. already referred to. The most notable were later:—The Sayers of Kent—who were related to an earlier branch of Sayers of Bouchier Hall, Essex. The St. Martins' family were derived from Sir George Sayer and represented by his widow, described as Domina Catherine Sayer, Widow, and her sons (B., 38-42-68; D., 6-9-14-54; F., 9). The Descendants of this family are referred to above as owning property at Maidstone (E., 2), and a branch appears as Sayers of Petts (F., 9), all being well to do and of high position, one being a Brigadier General in the Army. The complete clearing up of these families was abandoned as there was no Anthony found.

William Sayer, of St. Martins, and some of his family appears (C., 15), while John Sayer, of St. Martins, was also apparently connected with St. Giles's in the Fields (C., 14), as it would appear was also William Sayer. None of these, however, give a clue to Anthony.

Other Sayer Families.

Mention may be made of some others, although not all who can be found in the Appendices.

Sayers of Battersea—were a family who were at least property owners and holding lands from the St. John (Bolingbroke) families of the time (B., 48; D., 10-27-34). The St. Johns and Bolingbroke families are masonically perpetuated in the district now by Lodges named in some form after them.

Of other Sayer families it may be pointed out that some are seen resident in Wapping, Stepney, Shoreditch and the like (B., 32-36-46 &c.; D., 19-21; G., 4). These and others were mostly seafaring people and owners of ships, and Mercantile, East India adventurers, and Navy men.

The Sayer family of Westminster and later of Clerkenwell and Biddlestone, Herts., was a well to do one, but it carries us no further on the subject of the search. Sufficient to say particulars appear in (B., 17-63; D., 7) and elsewhere in the Appendices.

We find other families of Sayer located in Hereford, Sussex, Norfolk, Middlesex, Oxford, Devon, Somerset, Bucks., Suffolk, Radnor, Surrey, and nineteen names were found of those who died in Parts beyond the Seas. Some particulars of these appear in the Appendices, but were only followed up where any prospect of success appeared likely. In none of these cases was there any reference to an Anthony.

Finally, there has been submitted to me the pedigree of W.Bro. F. P. Sayer, P.M. Borough of Camberwell Lodge, which is carried back conclusively from the present time to Thomas Sayer, married at Hereford 1775, but the intervening period 1742-75 has not yet been bridged over. The family were located in Whitechapel (in the Timber trade), and a son of the above, viz., Joseph Sayer 1796-1832, was a member of the Old Dundee Lodge, No. 18. The gap would probably be filled up from the Hereford or Radnor Sayer families.

The Sayer families disclose members wealthy and connected with property, and persons of good position. Many instances occur of Mariners, some being owners of ships, others serving on East Indiamen, ships of the Navy, and so forth, which incidentally justify the view that the younger generation had developed a taste for adventure in foreign parts, and although it may appear that some of these Sayer families were not in what we should now call a good position, yet, in those days a person who died leaving property for which a will was necessary was not in any position of indigence but of comparative wealth. It must also be remembered that at that time dispositions of land were largely by deed, and that a will dealing with land exclusively did not require probate, the original being accepted as evidence of disposition. Often a will dealing with money and personal property was made in addition, but at the time in question the practice of a will being made dealing with both kinds of property had begun to be common among persons who were not of the highest position, the point being that poorer people although relatively well off avoided the making of two wills, partly from the question of expense and partly to equalise or adjust the shares of their children, hence it cannot be confidently inferred that because a will dealt with but few matters of property that the testator was of necessity a poor man.

To bring this portion of my story to a conclusion, I express the opinion definitely formed from a consideration of all the facts and circumstances noted herein and in the Appendices, as well as from the conviction formed in reading through the contents of wills, etc., not necessary to be noted, that there is no reason to suppose that our Anthony Sayer was at the time he was elected Grand Master a poor man or an operative worker or even a Clerk in Wren's office. It is more reasonable to say notwithstanding the ill success in discovering his actual family that he was a scion of the Sayer families of the Berkshire area. I have myself no doubt that having come to London, either as a result of the general trend of society in those days to visit the Capital, where, if I am right about his connection with the Berkshire area, he would have had relations, such as John Sayer, Citizen and Fishmonger or the more distant relative John Sayer, Cook to Charles the Second, or even the John Sayer, the Sope Maker; and that once he became connected with the London life, his interest in Freemasonry was such that his position in life justified him being selected for the important and honorable post of Grand Master. As I have discussed more thoroughly under the heading of "Was he a Gentleman?" his subsequent misfortune may, from this point of view, be disregarded—indeed, it was of natural happening to many people at that time, expensive living, losses at gambling which affected all ranks of society, and a possible gambling in South Sea shares,

were causes which brought many formerly wealthy people of good position and family to a state of abject poverty, and our Anthony would have been more than fortunate to have escaped such a fate. That he became poor is clear, but his presence in the procession of Past Grand Masters at the installation of the Duke of Norfolk and the respect paid by Brethren of the best quality at his funeral, show that his poverty and his possible Masonic irregularities, which have never been properly explained, did not prevent the highest members of society from recognising his original eminence.

PART III.

(A.). WHAT HAS BEEN DONE.

It does not require much consideration to see that a search for particulars of the family of an individual who comes on the stage without any known fact relating to his ancestry, but merely as "Mr. Anthony Sayer, Gent.", must of necessity be like the proverbial search for a needle in a haystack. I remember very distinctly that when I left No. 27, Great Queen Street, at the close of my conversation with the late Bro. Levander and with Bro. Songhurst, at which I undertook the search for Anthony Sayer's family, I stood on the doorstep and wondered where I was to begin, whether I should step off to the left, which would lead me to Public Record Office, or to the right, which would lead me to the Probate Registry at Somerset House. There was nothing to give me any clue, and I decided to go to the right, and in Somerset House I spent long hours on many occasions before I found any reference to an Anthony Sayer. It was this discovery that led me to work out the Sayers of the Berkshire area for the Anthony Sayer whose name I found turned out to be Anthony Sayer the Second. I need not detail all the searches which I made or caused to be made, nor give any account of the many failures and hopeless positions which I encountered except to say that had it not been for the kindness of Bro. Songhurst and his helpful suggestions I should have abandoned the search in despair. I have set out fully a list of all the searches which have been made, and their results will be found in the relative Appendices. I may mention that particulars of the searches which had been made up to a point where it seemed impossible to go any further were submitted through Bro. Songhurst to the late Bro. W. H. Rylands, whose knowledge of genealogy and similar matters was so great, and he expressed the opinion that everything that could be done had been done, and except for some few suggestions that were followed up he could not indicate any other enquiries which could be made. In Part B. I have suggested some future searches or enquiries which can be made, or old lines of search continued, and I feel that unless something can be done or discovered on these lines the subject is entirely exhausted; and we must resign ourselves to the conclusion that the force of circumstances has operated to preclude the discovery of the actual family of which our Anthony Sayer was a member. I shall continue as far as possible, in view of my limited powers and opportunities, the search on the lines indicated, and if any results are obtained, even although negative, they will be added to this collection for the benefit of those who come after. At the same time I do feel that a new mind brought to bear on the subject, and by the aid of the materials here collected, a younger man with more opportunities and energy than I now possess may light upon a clue which will enable him to disentangle from the confused skein of material those facts which would go to show that our First Grand Master was, in fact at the time of his election, a gentleman of family and position and thereby qualified for his selection to the post which has since been filled by Brethren of the greatest eminence and station in the land.

Among the causes which have operated adversely to success are the fact that it is a search at large—no data to go upon—the loss or mutilation of Registers—the confused state of Record keeping—the amazing number of classes of Records and Record areas, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, and the alterations of boundaries of Parishes, Archdeaconries, Dioceses and the like.

It may be convenient to sketch lightly circumstances which existed in the Church as explaining the loss, or the badly kept Registers of that period. By an Act of Queen Elizabeth the registration of all Marriages, Burials and Baptisms had to be kept by the Ministers of the Parishes under the jurisdiction of the Church of England—the various penal and test Acts after giving rise to non-conformity and dissent also gave the opportunity for expelling dissenting clergy from their benefices, and many Churches were left from this cause, as well as by the evil of plural livings, either without a Clergyman or with one who was careless or inattentive to his duties. It must also be remembered that Berkshire had been very disturbed by several events which must have had for many years a very bad effect on life in the Berkshire area. The Civil War before the end of the year 1642 had been brought near Oxford by the fact that the King's headquarters were constantly there and local fighting and turmoil was general. The first battle of Newbury 20th September 1643, the second battle of Newbury 22nd October 1644 and the later battle at Wallingford, the siege and ultimate destruction of its Castle, one of the last strongholds which held out for the King, must have had a great and lasting effect on the neighbourhood of the Berkshire area. The Commonwealth and the Restoration of the Stuarts 1660, the great Plague 1664 and the holding of Parliament at that time at Oxford, were all contributory factors to unrest and neglect of social and Clerical functions in the scattered villages in the vicinity, accentuated by the Act of Uniformity, Ordination Act, Five Mile Act, Conventicle Act and other devices. The wonder is not so much at the loss or mutilation of records, registers and the like, as that so many such have been preserved and remain to this day. Further, the division of Dioceses, Archdeaconries and the like all contributed to confusion, and the lack of a central depository for national or even parochial records was also a contributory factor to the confusion which undoubtedly reigned. Nor was this confusion limited to Church records, but those of the Law Courts were scattered through many offices and it is well known that many were badly stored and much neglected.

The following details will be found to correspond with the relative Appendices, which are deposited in the Library of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge for reference by any Brethren who may be interested.

APPENDIX A.

INDEXES TO WILLS & ADMINISTRATIONS. 312 Names noted.

1.	PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY	1355—1629	1678—1745
2.	CONSISTORY COURT OF LONDON	1670—1751	
3.	COMMISSARY COURT OF LONDON	1697—1722	
4.	CALENDAR OF WESTMINSTER WILLS	1504—1858	
5.	CALENDAR OF WILLS. COURT OF HUSTINGS, CITY OF LONDON	1299—1358—1688	
6.	MS. CALENDAR OF WESTERN COUNTIES WILLS ...	1613—1749	
7.	MS. CALENDAR OF OXFORD WILLS	1643—1648	

8.	ARCHDEACONRY & CONSISTORY COURTS OXFORD	...	1701—1734
9.	ARCHDEACONRY OF BERKSHIRE	...	1508—1652
		...	1715—1768
		...	1624—1676
10.	COMMISSARY COURT OF LONDON, ESSEX AND HERTS.	...	1660—1719
		...	1696—1783
11.	ARCHDEACONRY COURT OF DITTO		1708—1857
12.	ARCHDEACONRY OF MIDDLESEX, ESSEX AND HERTS.	...	1617—1711
		...	1663—1721

Note.—Where various dates are given they refer to different classes of Registers.

APPENDIX B. 87 WILLS &c. read and noted.

WILLS AND ADMINISTRATIONS Selected from the entries found in the Appendix A. giving details of their contents.

APPENDIX C.

REGISTERS OF BIRTHS OR BAPTISMS, MARRIAGES & BURIALS.
98 Entries inspected and noted.

1.	CLIFTON-HAMPDEN (Oxon.)	...	1571—1761	
2.	YATTENDEN (Berks.)	...	1661—1676	Bapts: only
3.	HAGBOURNE ...	...	1665—1675	ditto
4.	LITTLE WITTENHAM	missing for the material period.		
5.	ASTON TIRROLD	ditto		
6.	HARWELL ...	...	1564—1669	Marrs: only
7.	ST. GILES in the FIELDS	...	1665—1676	Bapts: only
8.	ST. MARTIN in the FIELDS	...	1665—1677	ditto
9.	ST. PAULS COVENT GARDEN	...	1676—1742	
10.	ST. CHRISTOPHER le STOCKS	...	1659—1742	

APPENDIX D.

CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS. 72 Index entries noted.
92 Suits inspected and noted.

DETAILS of the nature and parties and family relationships given.

APPENDIX E.

EXTRACTS FROM TITLE DEEDS. 2 ESTATES.
15 DEEDS noted with parties and family particulars.

APPENDIX F.

PEDIGREES CONSTRUCTED from materials available.

1.	Pedigree	of	the	ANTHONY SAYER FAMILY
2.	,,	,,	,,	ANTHONY PYSELEY ,,
3.	,,	,,	,,	JOHN SAYER Citizen of London
4.	,,	,,	,,	JOHN SAYER the King's Master Cook
5.	,,	,,	,,	JOHN SAYER of St. James's
6.	,,	,,	,,	THE JOSEPH SAYER families
7.	,,	,,	,,	SAYER of Wallingford
8.	,,	,,	,,	PETER SAYER family of Henley
9.	,,	,,	,,	SIR GEORGE SAYER of St. Martin's and Kent
10.	,,	,,	,,	The PROCURATORS GENERAL
11.	,,	,,	,,	JOHN SAYER of St. Paul's, Covent Garden
12.	,,	,,	,,	SIR EDMUND SAWYER of Heywood
13.	,,	,,	,,	SAYER of Cholsey families
14.	,,	,,	,,	SAYER of Yattenden families
15.	,,	,,	,,	SAYER families of Didcot and elsewhere
16.	,,	,,	,,	Bro. F. P. SAYER family (modern)

APPENDIX G.

MISCELLANEOUS RECORDS. 14 Inspected.
98 Names noted.

1.	FOSTER ALUMNI OXONIENSIS	...	1577—1762
2.	MARRIAGE LICENCES	...	1676 *et seq.*
3.	LORD ALDENHAM'S LETTER	...	20 April 1919
4.	MIDDLESEX DEEDS REGISTRY	...	1709—1733
5.	*GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE*	...	1731—1743
6.	HERALDS VISITATIONS	...	1661 *et seq.*
7.	BERRY'S COUNTY GENEALOGIES	...	1837
8.	MUSGRAVES OBITUARY	...	1717—1794
9.	GRANTS OF ARMS	...	1615—1661
10.	GENEALOGISTS SOCIETY CONSOLIDATED INDEX		
11.	ST. MARTINS IN FIELDS RATE BOOK 1730		
12.	CHANCERY AFFIDAVITS & RECORDS OF INNS OF COURT		
13.	SUBSIDY ROLLS (POLL AND HEARTH TAXES)		
14.	WATER'S GENEALOGICAL GLEANINGS 1653		

In addition many books dealing with history and localities have been referred to, but not noted.

B.—WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE.

It is difficult to say what can be done to further the searches, as the enquiry is one at large. The whole of the Records of England might be exhausted without any hope of success. But the following suggestions may be of use to any subsequent explorer:—

1. Some of the searches already noted may be amplified by earlier or later search (A., B., C., D., G.).
2. Enquiry at Salisbury and elsewhere for Visitation Copies of Church Registers missing or mutilated.
3. Inspection of Tombstones and Tablets in the Churches of the Berkshire Area and elsewhere in that County might afford some help.

   Bro. Dring kindly reminded me of 2 and 3 although I had not lost sight of them as they had proved of value to me in other cases.
4. Search at the Public Record Office for Enrolled Deeds, Grants, Recovery Fines and the like.
5. Further search in Rate Books of St. Martin's and other adjacent Parishes. It is to be remembered that unless the person searched for was a Householder his name is not likely to be found.
6. Search in the Records of the South Sea Proceedings at the Public Record Office and elsewhere. But this is a hopeless task, as unless the name of the particular Company is known the search is one at large.
7. Search in the Records of the Admiralty, East India Company, Treasury, and other Public Bodies might be useful but is again at large.
8. Searches in the books of City Companies, Freedoms, and the like. Also in Rolls of Manors in the Berkshire Area and enquiry into Parish Books, Churchwardens' Accounts or Local Magistrates' proceedings.

I frankly admit that some of the foregoing are hopeless, but as the result desired can, I feel convinced, only be obtained by chance or accident, it might be well to proceed further on the principle of the Forlorn Hope. In any case I doubt of success, but do not on that account despair. How much, if any, I may still be able to do is uncertain, but Brethren in the neighbourhood of the Berkshire Area or the County might well assist by taking up the items Nos. 2 and 3, especially the latter, which is the most hopeful of results. Any such might be communicated to Bro. W. J. Songhurst or myself for incorporation in the materials given in the Appendices, which, with my original notes, will be, or are, deposited in the Quatuor Coronati Lodge Library for future reference.

A vote of thanks to Bro. Hobbs was unanimously passed, and comments on the interesting paper by Bros. Sir Alfred Robbins, J. Heron Lepper, Lionel Vibert, J. E. S. Tuckett, R. H. Baxter, H. Poole, E. A. Ebblewhite, C. Walton Rippon, Geo. W. Bullamore, Phillip Crosslé, W. J. Williams, and W. L. Rind were read.

Brother J. HERON LEPPER said:—

In seconding this vote of thanks to Brother Hobbs, which I do with a great deal of pleasure, I think I may voice the condolences of all the members of this Lodge to our good Brother that his researches have not led to more definite results.

On learning that Brother Hobbs had spent seven years in preparing this paper, at once there recurred to me the similar bad fortune of the Patriarch, who served seven years for his wife, and in the end was cheated and received a Leah instead of a Rachel. In fact, most of the results which Brother Hobbs has established are of a negative character. We know now innumerable likely places which have been searched for traces of Anthony Sayer, and searched in vain.

This is pure bad luck. I am sure there is not a Mason here to-night but wishes with all his heart that Brother Hobbs had found what he was looking for, for if ever a student deserved success it is he. But such luck is very prevalent in the game of research; and most of us who play it have become philosophical enough to swallow the tons of negatives that have had to be chewed over in search of one affirmative fact.

And Brother Hobbs has had bad luck in another way. He has chosen a very difficult path of research, one that has been trodden over by the surest feet and scanned by the sharpest eyes of Masonic students. The very best brains in our tribe have been employed for long years in seeking to know everything there is to be known about the Grand Lodge of England and its early members. We know that there is still something to be discovered in such paths, but we also know that this 'something' must be very well concealed or it would have attracted the notice of such brilliant scholars as Gould, Speth, and others still with us. The Mason who is not deterred by these considerations but cheerfully goes forward to the hard task may not, probably will not, find out all he wants; but if he finds out anything at all he will have accomplished much more than any one of us who has had very few predecessors in his own particular field of research.

With the question, Was or was not Anthony Sayer a gentleman? I am not much concerned. Our old poet told us to mark the man that is most intent on doing all the gentle deeds that he can and to take him for the finest gentleman. They were certainly not gentlemen, in the usual acceptation of the term, who formed the Grand Lodge of the Antients in 1751, yet we know what they accomplished for Masonry: and I doubt if our Brethren of 1717 were of much higher social status than Brothers Turner, Morgan and Co. some thirty-four years later. Gentleman or not, Anthony Sayer will always have a claim on our remembrance as the first Grand Master of the Premier Grand Lodge of the world. No doubt he was a good Mason, which would account for his election, and that is quite enough for us.

I am more interested in Brother Hobbs' suggestion that Sayer may have been responsible for the scheme which brought the four old Lodges together to that epoch-making meeting in 1717. My own notion is that in those days, as in these, the real power behind the throne would have been the Secretary. But I fear this fascinating question is likely to remain a mere matter of theory.

Finally, I think that the very fact of his misfortunes makes Anthony Sayer more vivid to us than most of the Grand Officers of those early days. It is pleasant to think that even in the youth of our Grand Lodge it looked after the deserving Brother when old and fallen upon evil days. Sayer finds himself in good company with two Grand Officers, Corker and Fowler, names which will always be honoured in the annals of the Irish Craft, both of whom rendered the Craft immense services when in their primes, and I am glad to say were not forgotten when old and in necessity. We know that it is blessed to give, but it surely is also blessed to receive from the hand of a Brother. It is assuredly no blot on the noble roll of English Masonic Charity to find there the name of our very first Grand Master; it is no blot on his memory that in his distress he became a suppliant where he had been a ruler, and did not appeal in vain.

I think we may take it that Brother Hobbs has established the branch of the Sayers to which our first Grand Master belonged. In having done so he deserves our gratitude and praise. More than that, he has indicated further

directions in which further information might be discovered. I trust that information will be discovered by only one Mason, and that he will not have to wait a full further seven years for his Rachel.

Bro. J. E. S. TUCKETT *writes*:—

Probably all will agree that in this evening's paper Bro. Walter Hobbs has come very near to establishing his contention that Anthony Sayer was correctly described as 'Gentleman' and technically entitled to be styled 'Anthony Sayer, Esquire.' For a long time, however, our first Grand Master has apparently been regarded by Masonic students with disdain slightly tempered by a more or less contemptuous pity. In *The Four Old Lodges* (1879) Bro. R. F. Gould says:—

> Bro. Anthony Sayer . . . wielded no influence in Grand Lodge, having become, so early as in 1724, a suppliant for its bounty (p. 10).

There are two *assumptions* here neither of them supported by any evidence. We do *not* know that Sayer 'wielded no influence' in G.L., and the fact that he was chosen as its first ruler 'by a Majority of Hands,' and other happenings subsequently, suggest that he had a considerable and influential following. Again we do *not* know that in 1724 he was a suppliant for G.L. bounty. His 'Peticoñ' which 'was read and confirmed by the G.M.' (the Duke of Richmond) on the 21st November, 1724, was not *necessarily* a request for charity, either for his own benefit or for the benefit of anyone else; indeed, we do not know that it referred to charity at all. Bro. Gould's second assumption was, however, repeated in *Q.C.A.*, vol. x. (1913), in the Index (p. 354), where the 'Peticoñ' is described as a 'Petition for relief.' Bro. E. L. Hawkins, in his *Concise Cyclopædia* (1908) makes a further assumption:—

> . . . though indeed he (Sayer) was probably never in much affluence or position in the world (p. 217).

And Bro. Vibert, in *The Story of the Craft*, referring to Sayer, puts it in this form:—

> . . . an individual was elected as Grand Master who would seem to have been both obscure and of small means . . . (p. 46).

Bro. Walter Hobbs has done good service in pointing out that the accepted interpretation of the entry relating to the 'Peticoñ' of 21st November, 1724, is an assumption which is not supported by such evidence as is available. That Sayer's later years were clouded by financial troubles, so acute that he was granted relief from the Grand Lodge Funds, is no guide as to his social standing or solvency when he was chosen to preside over the newly-created central governing body. If, in the days of his adversity, he was willing to accept a humble but honourable office in the Craft for which he received payment, that fact should but increase our esteem, and certainly cannot justly be counted to his prejudice.

There is a point which Bro. Hobbs seems to have overlooked. The portrait, painted by Highmore and engraved by Faber, is no doubt an authentic representation of the features of the first Grand Master. Without any claim to be an expert, I give it as my opinion that the portrait is that of an educated, cultured gentleman, with a dignified presence and bearing, one who may very well have been in his time a 'personage.' Experts may not agree, but, whatever their verdict may be, the portrait affords light upon the point raised by this paper which should not be entirely ignored.

On 28th August, 1730, the Master and Wardens of Anthony Sayer's Lodge made a complaint against him in G.L. accusing him of 'great Irregularities,'

On the 15th December following he attended to answer his accusers. Opinions were divided as to his conduct:—

> . . . some of the Brethren being of opinion that what he had done was clandestine; others that it was irregular: The Question was put whether what was done was clandestine or irregular only, and the Lodge was of opinion that it was irregular only. Whereupon the Deputy Grand Master told Br. Sayer that he was acquitted of the charge against him, and recommended him to do nothing so irregular for the future. (*G.L.M.* in *Q.C.A.* x., p. 137.)

We do not know what it was that 'was done' by Bro. Sayer, but there is no justification for the assumption that he was charged with, still less that he was guilty of, any dishonesty in money matters. The general opinion (with which I agree) is that Bro. Sayer had taken part in some Craft proceedings not authorised by, or controlled by, the Grand Lodge. Of a Brother guilty of this to-day there would be only one opinion possible. But in 1730 the circumstances were very different, because there were then Lodges and Masons quite independent of the Grand Lodge but whose existence was as legitimate as that of the Grand Lodge itself. An unfavourable estimate of Anthony Sayer's moral character should rest upon a surer base than this charge of 1730 of the major portion of which he was acquitted.

It is with pleasure that I join in the vote of appreciation and thanks to Bro. J. Walter Hobbs for his interesting and valuable paper, and give expression to the hope that he may yet be able to identify the family of our first Grand Master.

Bro. Rodk. H. Baxter *writes*:—

Bro. J. Walter Hobbs is certainly to be congratulated on his patient endeavours to unearth authentic particulars of our first Grand Master's antecedents, and, although he has not quite succeeded in his quest, I, somehow, have the feeling that his work will lead to a definite result.

It is unfortunate that Bro. Hobbs should have mentioned in his "Foreword" that Bro. Levander was W.M. of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge in the early part of 1916, as, actually, his installation did not take place until November in that year. The point may not be very important, but it is always well to be accurate.

As to the Highmore portrait of Sayer, "Bromley's Catalogue" may be quite right in assigning the engraving to 1750. It does not follow that the painting was of the same date. Indeed, if it were I should be disinclined to place much reliance on it from a likeness point of view, and so far as details are concerned they could hardly be of value. I have heard it argued that Sayer must have been an operative—probably a master-builder in a small way of business—because the hand in the portrait is that of a workman. The story that he was a clerk in Wren's drawing office comes from a tainted source and deserves no credence, although, as Bro. Hobbs points out, a position of that kind would be rightly looked on as one of importance and entitle the holder to be regarded as a gentleman.

Paragraph (d) in the Summary of Part I. of Bro. Hobbs' paper seems to me to offer hope that the inquiry may be further followed. It is not made clear that birth registers have been searched for the issue of the Joseph Sayer—Mary Pyseley wedding of 1645, nor that the burial register of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, has been examined for particulars of parentage.

Bro. H. Poole *writes*:—

I have read Bro. Hobbs' paper with great interest; and, though I cannot but agree with the writer that the results are not yet conclusive, I feel sure that the majority opinion will be that he has established the claim of Anthony Sayer to the title of 'Gentleman.'

I am particularly struck with his suggestion that Sayer was probably at least one of the prime movers of the re-organisation of 1717; and also—which had not occurred to me—that the incidents of 1724, and perhaps even of 1730, were perhaps due to his anxiety at the way things were going. (May I suggest that the quotation in full of the G.L. Minutes at those two dates would be useful to the reader who has no Masonic library: or at least a reference—G.L. Minutes, 28 Aug., 1730—to the latter.)

One point appears to me to require correction—and one which, though slight, is not without its interest, though hardly throwing light on the present subject. I do not agree that the first two Grand Wardens must have been speculatives; nor that, as a Mason, a Carpenter could only have been a Speculative. In London, the Carpenters' Gild was in existence as a separate body in 1333, the Plasterers' in 1501, and the Tylers' and Bricklayers' in 1568—there may be earlier references, but I have no note of them; but in a number of provincial towns the 'building trades' were associated as a single Gild or Company. At Norwich, sixteenth century, the Masons and Tilers *seem* to have belonged to the same Gild as the Smiths and Lime-burners; but the import of the term 'Mason' seems clear from an order of 1549 (*A.Q.C.* xv., 203), where we find ". . . artifficers of the mysteryes scients & occupacions of masonscraft . . . reputed & called by the name of Roughemasons briklayers & Fremasons Reders Carpenters & Tylerscrafte." Again, the 16th-17th Century Company of the Wrights at Kendal consisted of the Carpenters, Joiners, Masons, Wallers, Slaters, Thatchers, Glaziers, Painters, Plasterers, Daubers, Pavers, Millers, and Coopers. Even in London there seems to have been at an *early* date a close connection between the Carpenters and Masons; and Bro. Conder (*A.Q.C.* xxvii., 81) quotes the appointment, in 1272, of two Master Carpenters and two Master Masons as 'viewers.'

It seems to me, therefore, that, as we are justified in supposing that some of the 'Masonry' worked in London in the early eighteenth century was on 'provincial' lines, there may well have been a number of operatives calling themselves Masons, who were really of the allied crafts; and that it was his *operative* qualification which led to the selection of Mr. Joseph Lamball as one of the first Grand Wardens. Furthermore—and this is why I consider the point worth raising—this operative qualification, I believe, was regarded as a necessity; for the first of the "New Articles," given by both the Roberts pamphlet and Anderson as of 1663, and perhaps actually appearing earlier in the Grand Lodge 2 and Harleian 1942 MSS., insists on the presence, among the five Freemasons constituting a Lodge, of at least one operative of the Craft. This, I feel sure, is why in every year from 1717 to 1722 we find at least one genuine operative among the Grand Wardens; and, even in 1723, the name erased seems to be that of William Hawkins, Mason.

Bro. Ernest A. Ebblewhite *writes*:—

I esteem the privilege of being allowed to see the advance proof of Bro. J. Walter Hobbs' scholarly article on "Mr. Anthony Sayer, Gentleman."

My maternal grand-uncle, the late Francis Compton Price,[1] a facsimilist, who worked for many years at the British Museum and collaborated with the

[1] "Whose name is a guarantee of accuracy" (Dr. W. J. Chetwode Crawley, in *A.Q.C.* xi., 4).

late Bro. Speth in the early days of *A.Q.C.*, died on the 12th September last, aged eighty-three. In 1898 Mr. Price gave me an advance copy of the portrait of Anthony Sayer which afterwards appeared in "History of the Old King's Arms Lodge No. 28," and he described it to me as "the portrait of a kinsman." In 1903 he gave me a copy of the book itself, which contains a Chapter on Anthony Sayer.

In 1898 I showed the print to my maternal grandfather, the late Nathaniel Price, who was born 14th December, 1825, fifteen years before the donor, and he told me that he had heard from his father, Bro. James Price (1790-1859), member of the Salopian Lodge No. 262 from 24th December, 1814, to 1822, that the latter believed he was related to Anthony Sayer through his maternal grandfather Sayer, and that this belief was based on a statement made to him by his maternal uncle, William Sayer, "a student of old-world subjects," when he stayed with him, as a young man, in Parliament Street, Westminster, but that Bro. James Price added: "We are not proud of the connection."

I have never followed up this information, and cannot give either the Christian name or origin of my Sayer ancestor, who must have been born about eleven years after Anthony Sayer was elected Grand Master; but I have these notes as to five of his children (who are not in order of birth):—

(a) William Sayer of Parliament Street and formerly of H.M. Victualling Office, Accountant for Cash to the Commissioners of Victualling 1756-1799. He held a freehold messuage at Penkridge, Staffordshire. Died 24th April, 1811, leaving a widow, Mrs. Sarah Sayer, who removed to No. 15, Great Queen Street (the old house now occupied as a joiner's shop by Messrs. Spencer and Co.), and died 30th March, 1830. They both lie buried in Westminster Abbey. William Sayer (who gave the tradition to my great-grandfather, Bro. James Price) was born in 1737, the year in which Bro. Anthony Sayer, as Tyler, was first relieved by the Old King's Arms Lodge.

(b) John Sayer, of Atcham, Shropshire, miller and farmer, to whom the Penkridge property was devised, and who died in 1828.

(c) Thomas Sayer, who died before 1809 leaving a widow, Mary.

(d) James Sayer.

(e) Mary, who, on the 17th January, 1788, married James Price, of Berwick Malveyson, otherwise Maviston, in the Parish of Atcham, yeoman, and died in July, 1809. She was my great-great-grandmother.

Perhaps these few notes may be of service in extending the enquiry on the hypothesis that my great-great-great-grandfather Sayer was a nephew or grand-nephew of the Grand Master.

I have always thought that Bro. Anthony Sayer may have been a countryman who became a freeman of the City of London, though I fear I cannot give any reason for the faith which is within me, and would suggest a search in the records of the Chamber of London and of some of the Livery Companies.

Bro. PHILIP CROSSLÉ *writes*:—

I see you are having a paper on Anthony Sayer on next Tuesday. I wonder if Bro. Hobbs has tried the Irish pedigrees. There is a Prerogated Will indexed "Thomas Sayer of Dublin, merchant," proved in 1705, but the Wills were burnt in the late conflagration of the Four Courts.

Bro. W. J. Williams said:—

We are all indebted to Bro. Hobbs for his paper, and, more than that, for the great outlay of directed energy the results of which it embodies. Although he has not achieved the main object of his investigations it is not because of any lack of skill, patience, or diligence, but because of the inherent difficulties of the task. He is like those bold explorers in Arctic regions who fail themselves to reach the goal though they clear the path for others, or, at least, prevent them exploring a *cul de sac.*

And now concerning Part I. "Was Anthony Sayer a Gentleman?" Passing by the little asides concerning Jacobinism and other 'isms,' and the attack upon Dr. Anderson, whom Bro. Hobbs intends to call as his chief witness, and of whom it may be said that, for this occasion only, he praises with faint damns, we come after a while to the statement in the 1738 *Constitutions* that Mr. Antony Sayer, Gentleman, was elected Grand Master of Masons. The 1738 account of the reason for forming a Grand Lodge is really no more than an enlarged and supplemental statement of things more lightly touched upon in the 1723 edition. It is not at variance with the former more concise statement.

As to the notorious fabrications by Dr. Anderson of entries referring to himself, presumably Bro. Hobbs refers chiefly to the alteration in the Grand Lodge Minute Book as to the choice of James Anderson, A.M., as Warden in place of Mr. William Hawkins. With full knowledge of what Bro. Vibert has written on that incident, there does not appear to be any ultimate falsity in the altered statement which is made undisguisedly and prominently. Surely this is a matter which comes within the principle of Bro. Hobbs' proposition "that Anderson's account of the proceedings and parties to the Grand Lodge formation are correct, for his publication of it took place in the lifetime of some of the principal actors who would have known if the facts were not correctly stated." We have all known cases where Minutes were irregularly, but truthfully, altered, or, rather, as in this case, added to—for it should be noted that Anderson did not strike out the record of the appointment of Mr. William Hawkins.

As a matter of fact, the alteration is not in a Minute, but in a list of Grand Wardens. Are there any other, and, if any, what, entries referring to Anderson himself which are notoriously or at all fabrications by him? I do not overlook Bro. Songhurst's note on p. 49 of *Q.C.A.* x. There is a grave danger that, in our zeal for exposing the undoubted weaknesses and inaccuracies of Anderson, we may be led into assuming *prima facie* that only the contrary of every statement he makes is true, and thus we may, unwittingly, convert him into a kind of negative guide. His great offence is that he undertook to write the history of the Craft prior to 1717, with the alarming result recorded in the 1738 *Constitutions,* of which it may well be said:—

"When facts were weak: his native cheek
Helped him serenely through."

Bro. Hobbs suggests that Bro. Sayer's petition in 1724 was not for the purpose of charity, and he would not be surprised if it had reference to certain alterations in the original plan of Grand Lodge. If, however, the Petition of Sayer so read and recommended by the Grand Master had dealt with any such serious matter as the general published principles of the Society, it seems certain that some further and fuller notice would have been taken of it, and it would not have been dismissed simply as read and recommended. The fact is there was then no general Charity Fund in existence, but the next entry in the G.L. Minutes (*Q.C.A.* x., 59) is: "The Rt. Honble the Earl of Dalkeith "Late Grand Mar. recommended a General Charity as follows (vizt.)," as there follows, and the juxtaposition is very significant.

After all the faculty of Imagination did not expire in the person of him who is dubbed by Bro. Hobbs the Master of Imagination. It would have been a sad loss to the World and to us if it had expired.

It should, perhaps, be pointed out that, if Bro. J. E. Shum Tuckett's tentative suggestions in regard to Dr. Anderson's first charge are to be accepted, Bro. Sayer, so far from being a complainant, was an arch conspirator; for the main thesis of Bro. Tuckett in the paper referred to is that "The principal motive and object *which led to the formation* of the premier Grand Lodge in 1717 was the desire to 'throw open' the Craft, that is to remove the Christian restriction so far as the Lodges of London and Westminster were concerned."

The probability is that for a time Bro. Sayer was financially helped by his own Lodge and by other Freemasons. The fact that he had been Grand Master was well known, and would have been, and indeed was, a powerful incentive to the grant of such aid. As soon as there were any funds in hand for Charity a petition from him came up again, and he was relieved thereout. I am sure Bro. Hobbs and most of us have known many cases of very worthy and even wealthy people who have from affluence speedily and suddenly sunk almost to destitution. Hence the subsequent poverty of Bro. Sayer cannot rightly make us suspect the correctness of the attribution to him of the title 'Gentleman' as implying the special status which in those days attached to that word. There were many such 'Gentlemen' in Debtors' prisons at the time.

May I suggest that in the final print Bro. Hobbs should also set out the fact that the Register of St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden, records Bro. Sayer's burial under date 5th January, 1742, "Anthony Sayer from St. Giles in the Fields"; and that the direct evidence of the marriage between Joseph Sayer and Mary Pyseley should also be set forth in full. This seems desirable having regard to our Brother's opinion that our Anthony Sayer was a child of that marriage.

This may aid the carrying out of the search as to any issue of that marriage. It may be possible to find out when and where one or both of the two parties to that marriage lived and died, and so narrow the area of search for evidence of the birth or baptism of our Anthony Sayer, although we must gratefully acknowledge that, even here, our Brother has to all appearance exhausted all but a very small residue of possibilities, and that the absence of the Registers of Little Wittenham for the material period almost bolts the door in our face.

However that may be, we have now more than ample reason for adopting the conclusion, for which no good reason for doubt has ever been assigned, that Anthony Sayer, the first Grand Master of Free Masons under the new organisation of 1717, was accurately described by Brothers Anderson, Highmore, and Faber as a Gentleman.

Bro. W. L. Rind *writes*:—

There is one point, I think, as to which Bro. Hobbs' admirable paper requires correction. He was wrong in identifying *Sayer* with *Sawyer*. The latter is clearly an occupational name, while Sayer from the mere fact that we have the variant Sayers, most certainly is not. I do not know of any instance of an occupational name with the possessive final *s*.

Sawyer appears in the Hundred Rolls as *le Sawyere* and *le Saghere*. Sayer from the fact of the existence of Sayers is a patronymic. The name seems to have originated with Saher de Quincy, the Earl of Winchester.

It is of course only a coincidence, that our Anthony bears a strong facial resemblance to the Chev. Quéau de Quincy, who was the last French and first English Governor of the Seychelles Islands in 1794, and whose portrait hangs in Government House in that Colony.

The name Sayer seems to be connected with the legendary lore of Northern Europe and derived from the root *sig*, meaning conquest. The same root appears in Sigurd, Seward, Seaward, Saward, Sebert, Seabright, Seaman, etc. Sayer

appears in the Hundred Rolls as Sayer Herberd, Saer Batagle, and Saer Bude, and is found in the Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium in Turri Londinensi, the Guildhall Records, and elsewhere.

Bro. J. Walter Hobbs *writes in reply*:—

I am extremely grateful to the Brethren who have commented on the Paper and for the reception my endeavours to discover something about our First Grand Master have been accorded. Bro. Crosslé's reference to Irish Sayers is useful but such as I met with gave no indication of any member named Anthony. Bro. Poole's valuable suggestions open out matters which, although only incidental to my main purpose, would no doubt lead to much further light being thrown on the position of the Brethren who were the originators of the organisation afterwards taken out of their hands. Bro. Tuckett quotes the chief references to Sayer's actions in 1730, and in response to Bro. Poole's suggestion I here set out the whole of the statements in G.L. Minutes of 1724 from *Q.C.A.* x., 59:—

> At a Quarterly Communication held at the Crown Tavern behind the Royall Exchange London the 21st of Novr 1724
>
> Present
>
> His Grace the Duke of Richmond Grand Mar
> M. ffolkes Esqr Deputy Grand Mar
> ffran. Sorrell Esqr } Grand Wardens
> Mr George Payne }
>
> . . . .
>
> Brother Anthony Sayers Peticon was read and recommended by the grand Master.

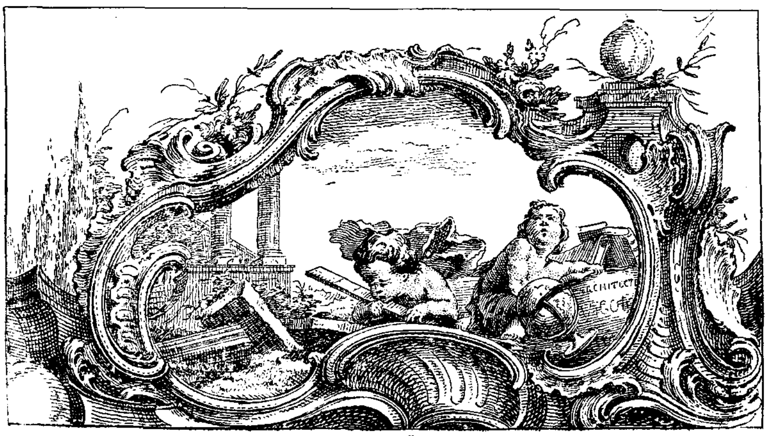
Now there is no indication of the nature of the Petition but it was recommended by the G.M. Grand Lodge was at that time concerned with the making of Irregular Masons and the meeting of such in Lodges (Quart: Comm: 19th Feb: 1724), and this was dealt with later in the proceedings. Although Lord Dalkeith's Motion to set up a General Charity was also brought forward at this meeting I see no reason to suppose the Petition had reference to this subject, or was an application for Charity; but there is much more reason to regard the Petition as dealing with the question of the new Brethren and Lodges, the more so as until this very meeting Past Grand Masters *as such* had no right to be present and vote, so that a Petition would appear a more dignified way of voicing the statements of a Past G.M. than doing so as a Private Lodge member. The Charity was not effective for years afterwards. Compare the reception of Bro. Sayer's Petition on this occasion with that of Bro. Jones for Charity on the 10th May, 1727, and I think it will be agreed that Sayer's Petition was not for Charity or it would have achieved a similar result and been noted accordingly.

No Anthony Sayer was found among the Sayers of any region but Berkshire, and Bro. Ebblewhite's predecessors, so far as my investigations enable me to form an opinion, were not related to the First Grand Master.

It has been suggested to me that the identification of "Sayer" with "Sawyer" is not likely to be right, but a re-consideration of the effect of Wills and Deeds previously noted in Part II. (B) will demonstrate by actual examples the correctness of my statements. I may add that another Anthony Sawyer has since been mentioned to me, but he was a Clerk in the office of the Paymaster-General of Land Forces in 1742, while our Anthony Sayer died in the first week of that year. This is probably the man referred to by Bro. Levander (*ante*).

Bro. W. J. Williams has, since his verbal remarks, given me a reference to "Hatton's new view of London," published in 1708, where Hatton, dealing with St. Paul's, Covent Garden, refers on page 480 to a Tombstone erected by Peter Sayer to the memory of his Father, Mother, Sister and Son in 1695, and said to be at the West end of the Church. This Peter was a son of John Sayer, died 1685, and referred to Part II. (B). I have made a long inspection of the interior and exterior of the Church and its burial ground and no such Tombstone is to be found; the bulk of the ground is paved with such stones most having had the inscriptions chiselled down. As to a possible reason for the burial of Anthony Sayer at St. Paul's instead of St. Giles it is hardly possible to speak with certainty. He was clearly not related to Peter Sayer or his Father, but from inspection of the Registers I incline to the opinion that for some reason St. Paul's Church was fashionable, for Burials from many other Parishes having Burial grounds are entered. As an example, in the same year as Anthony Sayer there was buried at St. Paul's "Peter son of Harmen Noorthouck from the Precinct of the Savoy." I think that as the Funeral procession started from the Piazza in Covent Garden the probability is that the "Gentlemen of the best Quality," who formed it, made the arrangements and probably found the cost.

To conclude, I remain of the same views expressed in the Paper, and content myself by saying that Anthony Sayer was in fact a "Gentleman" and cannot be dislodged from that position by unsupported assumptions or surmises.



REVIEW.

HISTORY OF THE GRAND LODGE OF FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS OF IRELAND.

Vol. I.

By John Heron Lepper & Philip Crosslé.

1925.

THIS excellent work is published by the Dublin Lodge of Research, to whose enterprise we are greatly indebted. The book is dedicated to the Earl of Donoughmore, the Grand Master of Ireland, who contributes a charming note, exhibiting those characteristics of courtesy and kindly feeling which his ancestors also possessed and of which the English Masons in certain degrees outside the Craft fortunately have the benefit. The opening chapters on early myth and legend in Ireland are interesting. These, however, resemble those everywhere arising along the path of the Aryan race, with the usual racial variations. As early as 1688 speculative Masons were being admitted into operative Lodges in Ireland, and probably long before the example of the English Masons was copied in the formation of a Grand Lodge, speculative Masonry had spread over the whole country.

The Irish Grand Lodge was certainly in existence some time before the first date on which a definite record appears, for the notice in the Dublin *Weekly Journal* of 26th June, 1725, shows a completely organised body. This is not especially astonishing, for it must be recognised that Dublin was never an 'Irish' city but was more or less cosmopolitan with a leaning towards English customs, which generally came across by way of Bristol, and in Masonry, at any rate, was attended by a certain amount of reciprocity between the two Cities.

There was an early element of trouble in the formation of a rival Grand Lodge of Munster, but this soon was put right, and in 1731 Munster merged itself in the Grand Lodge of Ireland. From this date the real work of the Grand Lodge begins. The type of man seeking admission into the Craft of Ireland was of the best, and this was materially assisted by the adoption of Inspection Committees whose work was to make enquiry into the status and character of the candidates. This was, and is, a very sensible method of procedure, and is by no means unknown in England nowadays under the style of a "Selection Committee," a quite unofficial body, however. In this matter, as also in the issue of Lodge Warrants, first issued 1st February, 1731, it is correct to say that "Ireland has given the lead to the whole Masonic world."

There are other points worthy of commendation, such as the uniformity of the ritual which has not varied since 1761 and the Charge to the candidate after initiation, which is of Irish origin. It first appeared in print in Smith's *Pocket Companion*, Dublin, 1735. There is also the valuable reference to the Royal Arch at Youghall in 1743, and an entry in the Minute Book of the Vernon Masonic Lodge at Coleraine, dated 16th April, 1752, this being the earliest known

reference to the Royal Arch degree in a Lodge Minute Book. Similiarly, in the Minute Book of the Shamrock Lodge, Cork, dated 23rd April, 1751, is an early entry of the holding of a "Master's Lodge."

The Irish Lodge had the same difficulty in collecting its dues as had the English Lodge, human nature being pretty much the same everywhere. Chapter 4 gives biographical notes on the Grand Lodge Officers from 1725 to 1788, some of which are full of perhaps unconscious humour. The example of prenatal suggestion on p. 181 is interesting, but not convincing to the medical mind. The play of wit in some of the poetical extracts is typically Hibernian; perhaps the best is that on p. 210.

Probably the greatest service Ireland rendered to English Freemasonry was the formation of the Grand Lodge of the Antients by the Irish Masons who had settled in England. The account here given is one of the most complete statements that we are likely to need on this subject. It does full justice to that remarkable man, Laurence Dermott, who emphatically left his country for another country's good. This sequence by no means always or even necessarily occurs, but when it does occur the results are usually phenomenal, and in this instance have lasted up to the present day.

"The whole story of the split between the Antients and Moderns leads one to believe and hope that there is something so splendidly vital in our noble Craft that neither the mistakes of its rulers, nor the tinkerings of would-be innovators, will ever have more than an ephemeral effect." This admirably sums up the situation, and its truth has been amply demonstrated time after time. The good things brought forward by both were in the long run adopted by their legitimate successor in England, and we are enjoying to-day the benefit of their endeavours. The tumult and the shouting have died away, and only the valuable results remain for our advantage.

The Antients were pioneers in many ways, and whether the ideas were translated into action from Irish originals or not, the effect has been most satisfactory. The oldest form of a Lodge Certificate given by a Lodge at Lurgan, which is still in existence, is interesting because it shews that in 1754 the term of "Sublime degree of a master mason" had been evolved. It is also in a large measure due to the fostering care of the Irish Masons that we owe the propagation of the Royal Arch and the Higher Degrees.

The story of the discords and rebellions in a disturbed country such as Ireland has been for many years, which had their inevitable effect on Masonry, is told with fairness and accuracy. Particularly noteworthy is the account of the attempt to make Masonry the servant of a political association under the guise of meeting as a Lodge of Freemasons. The letter sent from the Irish Grand Lodge dealing with the discussion or publication of religious or political matters in a Freemasons Lodge is a dignified and clear statement of a most important principle. "True Masonry prefers no Sect, and acknowledges no Party." The later attempt to form a rival Grand Lodge of Ulster is described at length, but, like the Grand Lodge of England South of the Trent, it lasted only a short time. Things past may be repented, not recalled.

The task of reading through this book has been a very pleasant one. The details of the origin, progress and vicissitudes common to all things, is told in a clear and convincing manner. The citation of authorities is of the utmost value, and is evidence for all statements made on controversial matters. Irish Masonry has long waited for an authoritative account, and the authors are to be thanked warmly and congratulated heartily on the result of their labours. We hope that in the next part they will give a picture of the normal course of a subordinate Lodge of the last century, whether the difference between then and now be great or small.

The claim of Ireland to have advanced Masonry in many ways must be admitted, *e.g.*, by means of the Military Lodges Masonry was spread over the Globe, though some claims may be open to question, for example, "The Enter'd

Prentices Song," which has always been attributed to Matthew Birkhead, is tentatively thought to be of Irish origin, decidedly with respect to the tune, "which is old Irish of a most characteristic kind," and probably also the words. The so-called Celtic races are supposed to have a monopoly of good poetry, but this trait is not specially apparent in this effusion, nor even in the other Masonic poetry quoted.

The illustrations scattered without sequence throughout the letterpress are of the utmost value. Every one of them is good and some are rare. This method of *non sequitur* lends a delightful feeling of anticipation to the reader, who is sure to come across a charming and interesting photograph when not expecting one, and every now and then he finds one which is worthy of prolonged study. "As some witty device expressed with cunning workmanship, something obscure to be perceived at first, whereby, when with further consideration it is understood, it may the greater delight the beholder."

We have never enjoyed reading a Masonic history so much as we have done this one, and we recommend it as deserving of careful study and worthy of the sincere approval of every Freemason who desires light and information on the history of the Craft. "Pleasant without hardness, smooth without any roughness, sweet without tediousness, easy to be understood, without harsh absurdity; yielding a gracious harmony everywhere to the delight of the reader."

May, 1926. JOHN STOKES.

OBITUARY.

IT is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Henry Ballentyne, of Glasgow, on 16th June, 1924. He was a P.M. of Lodge No. 556 and P.Z. of Chapter No. 122. Bro. Ballentyne was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in 1919.

Charles Butcher, of London, S.E., on 2nd April, 1924. Our Brother was Past Assistant Grand Pursuivant; and Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1906.

Frederick John Childs, of London, S.W., on 1st April, 1924. Bro. Childs was a P.M. of Stanhope Lodge No. 1269, and had attained L.R. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in 1908.

Owen Aly Clark, M.B.E., of Gorleston-on-Sea, in May, 1924. Bro. Clark was Dep.Pr.G.M. of Suffolk, Past Grand Deacon in Grand Lodge, and Past Grand Standard Bearer in Grand Chapter. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since October, 1907.

Rev. **Charles E. Cooper,** of Lincoln, in 1924. He was a member of Lodge No. 24 (B.C.), and a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in October, 1908.

Alan Bell Gordon, of Cape Colony, on 4th April, 1924. Our Brother was Past Grand Deacon of England, and held the offices of District Grand Master and Grand Superintendent. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1912.

Robert William Victor McCall, of Victoria, on 22nd April, 1924. Bro. McCall was Past Deputy Grand Master. He joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1922.

David Ogden, of Dublin, on 26th May, 1924. He was P.M. of Lodge No. 25, and P.K. of the Chapter attached thereto. Our Brother had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1911.

Thomas John Ralling, of Colchester, on 5th April, 1924. Bro. Ralling was Pr.G.Sec. of Essex, which office he had held since 1877; he was also Pr.G.Sc.E., and held the rank of Past Grand Deacon in Grand Lodge and Past Assistant Grand Sojourner in Grand Chapter. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in January, 1890.

Richard James Reece, M.A., M.D., of London, W., on 20th April, 1924. Our Brother was Past Grand Deacon and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1911.

John Tricks Spalding, J.P., of Nottingham, on 9th June, 1924. Bro. Spalding was Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies and Past Grand Standard Bearer (R.A.). He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since May, 1894.

Henry Warne, of Norwich, in 1924. Our Brother was P.Pr.G.R., and P.Pr.G.J. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in March, 1907.

Major **William Wilkinson,** of Bishop Auckland, on 25th May, 1924. Bro. Wilkinson held the rank of Past Assistant Grand Director of Ceremonies, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1902.

SUMMER OUTING, 1924.

BIRMINGHAM AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

BY BRO. J. WALTER HOBBS.

THE venue for this year's Outing was fixed at Birmingham as a centre, though it is obvious that to visit a crowded City and manufacturing district does not hold out every advantage required for an outing; but the obvious reasons are fundamental, viz., that Headquarters can be obtained sufficiently large to provide Hotel accommodation for the whole party, and that ample means of locomotion are available. Thus Birmingham answered these requirements to the full, and few if any of the visiting Brethren who journeyed from London on Thursday, 3rd July, through rural scenes of beauty, anticipated or expected to remain within the City boundary, but rather to be outing therefrom, and in this they were not disappointed.

On arrival at Snow Hill Station the visitors were met and welcomed by V.W. Bro. Canon Barnard, Dep.Prov.G.M., Warwickshire, and other local Brethren, and proceeded to the Grand Hotel, where members from Bristol, Bath, Sheffield, Lancashire and the North had already foregathered. The weather was generally unpropitious, but the party started at once in motors to visit Bournville and the works of Messrs. Cadbury Bros. there, upon the kind invitation of that Firm. On arrival the party transferred into the Firm's motor vehicles and toured the Bournville Estate, having the various points of interest indicated. The village was a precursor of the Town Planning schemes and of other advantages now conceded to working class residences.

The story of the Bournville business covers the whole range of the growth of an industry, from the early experiments of John Cadbury, who eighty years ago made cocoa and chocolate with pestle and mortar in his Birmingham warehouse, to the highly developed organisation of a concern whose functions are world-wide.

Though as early as 1853 Cadbury Brothers had received a Royal Appointment as Cocoa and Chocolate Makers to Queen Victoria, the rapid development of the business dates from the late sixties. When, in 1879, the premises in Birmingham became inadequate for the growing trade, Richard and George Cadbury transferred their works to a site in the country, which became known as Bournville.

The step, at that time, was regarded as courting disaster, but the soundness of the Firm's decision was at once justified by their rapid and continuous prosperity. The progress of the business is perhaps best measured by the growth in the numbers employed:—

In 1861 there were 14 employees; in 1879, after the transfer to Bournville, there were 230; to-day the number approaches 10,000.

The removal to Bournville was justified, however, in other ways. It rendered possible, not only the realisation of the ideal of the heads of the business to secure a country environment for their workers, but the evolution of many schemes for the employees' welfare which would have been impossible under town conditions. They were fortunate in acquiring land in a countryside possessing many natural beauties. With increasing prosperity they were from time to time able to make additional purchases, including a picturesque estate with extensive lawns and woodland, which was set aside as a recreation ground for employees, and together with other lands was secured for that purpose for all time.

In 1895 Mr. George Cadbury founded the Bournville Estate, an incalculable asset to the Bournville community. Occupying at first some 300 acres of land on either side of the pretty Bourn stream, from which the village takes its name, it has constantly extended its boundaries. The original garden village of Bournville and three other villages which have come into being now cover 860 acres, and have a population of 5,000.

Two villages have already been completed on the Estate, and good progress is being made with two others. The first cottages were built in 1879, but the greater part of the building dates from 1895 and onward. The originator of the scheme was Mr. George Cadbury, of the Manor House, Northfield.

The whole property was handed over to a body of Trustees on behalf of the nation in 1901, and with accruing revenue, is administered by the Trustees, subject to the final control of the Charity Commissioners, to whom a balance sheet and report are sent year by year.

The Founder in the Deed states that he desires the rents may:

> if practicable, be fixed on such basis as to make them accessible to persons of the labouring and working classes, whom it is his desire to attract from the crowded and insanitary tenements which they now inhabit, without, however, placing them in the position of being recipients of a bounty.

To avoid misunderstanding, it should be said that the village is not reserved for Messrs. Cadbury's workpeople, the scheme not being intended for their benefit only, but as a contribution towards solving the Housing problem, especially as it exists in large cities. A large number of the householders work at Messrs. Cadbury's, but the others are employed in the neighbouring manufacturing villages, or in industry or civil or other service in Birmingham, which is easily accessible by rail, electric car, or bicycle.

The visitors were then formed in groups of six, with one of the clerical staff detached as guide to each (the regular staff of guides, about twenty in number, not being called on), and the Works were visited, or rather different parts of them, so that the whole were seen by one or other group. The various processes were explained, and the automatic machines in use were most interesting. One in particular rolled up a sheet of paper and by means of what one may call mechanical fingers, folded down in succession one end of the roll, which was then placed as a lining inside the tins to hold cocoa. The automatic fillers were fed from above, and the supply cut off when the proper weight of material had accumulated, which then was shot into the tin, and the process resumed once more. The making of Chocolates and Confectionery, packing in all stages, and ultimate delivery into railway trucks for despatch all over the world gave much to think of and was evidence of a fine organisation. The visitors were specially entertained to tea in the Conservatory adjoining one of the Recreation Gardens, and a souvenir was presented to each visitor. A torrential downpour of rain was experienced during this pleasant function, but happily passed off just after starting the return to Headquarters.

In the evening there was a special meeting of welcome by the Provincial Grand Lodge of Warwickshire at the Masonic Hall, New Street, when the Provincial Grand Master, Col. W. F. Wyley, P.G.D., expressed the pleasure of the Warwickshire Brethren at the visit, to which Sir Alfred Robbins, our W.M.,

suitably replied. The Masonic Library and Museum of the Province was inspected, many of the special objects having been set out and arranged by Bro. S. J. Fenton, the Secretary to the Library Committee. Much regret was expressed on all sides at the enforced absence of Bro. Swinden, the Provincial G.S. The Brethren who undertook his duties in regard to the visit very successfully filled his place and earned the gratitude of the visitors.

Friday, 4th July, saw the party on the way by motors to Knowle, a small town on the summit of a hill, formed into an ecclesiastical parish out of Hampton-in-Arden in 1850. The foundation of the important collegiate church or chapel of Knowle, usually wrongly stated, is set forth at length in vol. ii. of the "Victoria History" of the County. In 1397, Walter Cook, Canon of Lincoln and native of the widespread parish of Hampton-in-Arden, rebuilt the chapel of Knowle on a large and beautiful scale in honour of SS. John Baptist, Anne, and Lawrence, and obtained official sanction for baptismal and burial rights. Letters patent were granted in 1402, by Henry IV., to Canon Walter and his father, Adam Cook, to found here a chantry. In 1413 Canon Walter associated himself with six friends in founding here a guild of two wardens with brethren and sisters. Meanwhile Canon Walter's emoluments materially increased; he became also Canon of St. Paul's and of York, and also held the archdeaconries of Berkshire and Exeter. He associated himself with Elizabeth, widow of Lord Clinton, and in 1416 obtained licence to found a college of ten chantry priests connected with his chapel of Knowle; one of their number was to be warden, and they were to have common board and lodging. The Guild of Knowle became exceedingly popular. An extant register, from 1497 to 1506, shows that it had 3,000 members, chiefly from among the ordinary folk of Warwickshire and district. But about the beginning of the sixteenth century influential people began to join in different parts of England to secure the privileges of its fellowship. On a single page of the register of 1506 occur the names of the Marquis of Dorset and the Earl of Kent and their wives; the Abbots of Evesham, Pershore, Bordesley, and Hales; Sir Richard Empson and wife, the Archdeacon of Coventry, and the Rector of Solihull; members of the Verney and Russell families, and "Johannes Walleston, Cofurrer to Prince Arthur and Agnes his wife de Yslep."

Eventually the college was suppressed, and its wealth and goods were seized by the Crown under Edward VI., but the actual fabric of the great chapel was saved by the protest of the commissioners.

The church is a fine example of Perpendicular work, and consists of chancel, clerestoried nave with aisles and west tower. There is no chancel arch, but a singularly good screen, the coving of which projects 3ft. 6in. The stairway to the rood-loft remains.. Six misericorde stalls remain on the north side and five on the south. There are two dug-out chests, the largest of which is 8ft. long by 2ft. wide; they are both considerably earlier than the fabric. The handsome altar-table is Elizabethan with bulbous legs. At the entrance to the nave, on iron brackets, are the lion and unicorn, carved in oak, bearing brass plates inscribed "Ex dono Anth^{o} Holbeche, An^{o} 1717."

Near the west end of the church is the half-timbered hall of the fifteenth century collegiate house, recently restored.

The Rector kindly conducted the part and explained the history of the Church and Guild.

Thence the party proceeded to Temple Balsall. The manor was granted to the Knights Templar in the reign of Stephen, and a preceptory was duly established with other endowments. In 1268 a weekly market and two three-day annual fairs were granted. In 1308, when the Order was suppressed, eight of the arrested brethren belonged to the Balsall house. After the Templars' suppression the manor of Balsall reverted to the Mowbrays, but on the attainder of John Mowbray in 1322, the whole preceptory passed into the hands of the Knights Hospitallers. From the return of Prior Philip de Thame, in 1385, the gross annual income of this preceptory was £127 2s. 6d.; it was served by a preceptor, two brothers, two chaplains, a steward, clerk, chamberlain, and seven

other servants. When the Hospitallers' time for suppression arrived in 1540, the manor was granted by Henry VIII. to Queen Katherine Parr; it subsequently formed one of Elizabeth's innumerable gifts to her favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. From him it descended to Lady Katherine Leveson, who bequeathed the property in 1670 for a hospital for poor widows. This hospital, close to the church, is a large brick building of two stories, occupying three sides of a quadrangle.

The church of St. Mary, of red sandstone, is a fine Decorated building, of Geometrical, or early Decorated date, rightly considered the finest example of late thirteenth century work in the Midlands; it was too severely restored in 1849. It is 104ft. long by 39ft. wide and 57ft high. The Geometrical window tracery is most effective; at the west end is a fine wheel window of twelve divisions; there is a small tower at the south-west angle. On the south side of the altar are beautiful sedilia and a piscina niche. The east end of the chancel is at a high level, to allow of a processional path to the preceptory buildings. To the west of the church is the ancient hall, or refectory (both these military orders were bound to be lavish in their hospitality), 70ft. by 30ft., divided into three aisles by wooden pillars, and of timber framing; but it was subsequently converted into chambers.

The journey was continued to Coventry and the early afternoon spent in viewing buildings there. Mention here in detail can only be made of the following:—

St. Michael's Church, which is now the cathedral of the new diocese of Coventry, is a grand example of the Perpendicular style. The tower and spire, begun in 1373 and completed in 1398, attain to the height of 303ft.; they are of imposing and singular beauty. The full length of the church is 293ft., and its greatest width 127ft. The chancel ends in a pentagonal apse; there are fragments of old glass in the side windows. A striking feature of the church is the series of chapels which used to be associated with the trade guilds of the city; they now form outer aisles on the north and south sides. Beginning from the west end, the chapels on the south side were those of the Dyers, the Cappers (or St. Thomas), and the Mercers; on the north side are the Smiths (or St. Andrew), the Girdlers, and the Drapers. The last-named is enclosed with screenwork, and contains thirteen misericorde stalls. The south porch is the oldest portion of the church; above the groined roof is a priest's chamber, afterwards used by the Cappers' Guild.

The good cruciform church of the Holy Trinity stands near by, and suffers somewhat from the comparison, but it is a fine building, 186ft. in length by 105ft. in breadth. The graceful spire rises to a height of 237ft.; it was renewed shortly after destruction in a severe gale of January, 1665. The north porch is the oldest part; the whole fabric is, in the main, Perpendicular. Like St. Michael's, it was encompassed in early days by gild chapels. Eastward of the north transept is the Marlers' chapel; the south chancel aisle was the Butchers' chapel; whilst the south aisle of the nave was appropriated to the Tanners or Barkers. On the north side of the church, west of the porch, is the Archdeacon's chapel, where the Consistory Court was held, and to the east of the porch is St. Thomas' chapel, with the remains of a crypt. The Lady chapel was a continuation of the south chancel aisle, now used as a vestry. The pulpit, attached to the south-east pier of the tower, is a fine example of fifteenth century stonework; both the font and the brass eagle are coeval, and there is a fine Elizabethan alms-box. Neither of these great churches has any notable monuments of early date.

St. Mary's Hall, near St. Michael's church, was erected about 1360 as a place of meeting for the trade guilds; the great hall, 76ft. by 30ft., and 34ft. high, was added about half-a-century later. It belongs to the Corporation, and is one of the very few mediæval English buildings used for municipal purposes. The fine window at the north end of the grand hall has much old glass, but it has been largely restored. Below it is the celebrated Coventry tapestry, which

extends across the entire width of the hall. It is supposed to commemorate the visit of Henry VI. and Queen Margaret of Anjou to the city in 1451. On the walls are portraits of James II. and Charles II. by Lely, and of George III. and George IV. by Lawrence. Other details of this group of buildings are well worthy of examination.

Other places visited were The Old Palace Yard, Grey Friars or Ford's Hospital, Cook Street Gate and the Masonic Hall. Subsequently the party proceeded to The Charterhouse, the residence of the Prov.G.M. and Mrs. Wyley, where they inspected the old portions of the house (formerly the Carthusian Priory), ancient panelling and mediæval wall paintings—they then took tea in a marquee in the garden, where there were present to meet the party many of the Masters of the Provincial Lodges and others. The proceedings were much marred by rain, but Sir Alfred Robbins, W.M., in gratefully thanking our hosts, expressed the feelings of all the Brethren at the untoward weather, which, however, did not damp either the ardour and welcome by the Hosts or the appreciation of the visitors for the kindness displayed to them.

In the evening there was a Conversazione at the Hotel, when Sir Alfred Robbins, W.M., gave an interesting account of some of his experiences on his recent tour to the U.S.A.

On the 5th July the party inspected buildings and institutions in the City. The Cathedral Church is that which was erected in 1711, when St. Philip's was built and a second parish formed. The church is a Palladian building, good of its kind; the architect was Thomas Arden, a pupil of Vanburgh; it was enlarged eastward in 1883; the chancel has three large windows of Sir E. Burne-Jones' design. This church serves as the pro-cathedral for Birmingham. The see of Birmingham was constituted by an Order in Council on 12th January, 1905; it comprises the whole of the city of Birmingham and adjacent portions of the counties of Warwick, Worcester, and Stafford, together with a very small portion of Leicestershire.

The Art Gallery was then visited and the famous Burne-Jones' Cartoons inspected, and the party dispersed among the various rooms in search of examples of art or other objects in which they were interested. Two were found to have obtained access to parts not open to the public, in search of Tokens, one of which was discovered and compared with that brought by one of the two searchers, and, to the owner's pleasure, his specimen was far better than that shewn in the Gallery.

The Public Library, the Shakespeare Library, and the Boulton and Watt relics were then seen and the kindness of the City Librarian in displaying specimen books was appreciated.

In the afternoon there was another tour, on this occasion in private cars belonging to local Brethren who came to the rescue as the ordinary motors were not available. The first place visited was Coleshill, a small picturesque town on the road from Warwick to Tamworth; it lies on the slope of a hill. It belonged to the Clintons, who had a castle here, up to the days of Edward III., and then to the de Montforts. When Simon de Montfort was executed in 1495, the manor was granted to Simon Digby, constable of the Tower. The family was ennobled by James I., and still retains Coleshill. James I. renewed the grant of a market and two fairs, originally granted by John. On the old market house is fixed the pillory, whipping-post, and stocks combined, but they have been renewed, save for some ironwork. The well placed church of SS. Peter and Paul is a fine and interesting building of sandstone, with a lofty west tower and spire rebuilt in 1887; the seven-bayed nave is Decorated, and the chancel Perpendicular. There was a general and too drastic restoration in 1859. The font is a singularly fine late Norman example, carved with the rood and four Evangelists. The church is exceptionally rich in effigies. In the north and south aisles are two recumbent effigies in chain-mail, under sepulchral arches, of the Clinton family; they are both fourteenth century, and cross-legged, an attitude having no shadow of a connection with the Crusaders. There are also effigies in the chancel to Simon Digby, 1519, and

Alice his wife; to John Digby, 1558, and Anne his wife; to Sir George Digby, 1586, and Abigail his wife; and incised figures of Reginald Digby, 1549, and Anne his wife. There are also brasses to Alice Clifton, 1516 (a daughter of Simon Digby); and to two vicars, William Abell, 1500, and John Fenton, 1516. The bridge over the Cole is a good mediæval example, with the usual triangular recesses for foot-passengers over the cut-waters.

The party then proceeded to view New Hall, near Sutton Coldfield, the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Owen, the latter being a daughter of the late Bro. G. W. W. Beach, formerly Prov.G.M. of Warwickshire.

In the absence of Mr. Owen, by reason of illness, Mrs. Owen was good enough to shew the visitors over the Mansion, which is surrounded by a Moat, the water in which was largely covered with water-lilies. The house dates in part from the twelfth century with later additions.

It is said to be the oldest inhabited house in England. The early portions were Monastic, and the Abbot's dining-room is still used as a dining-room and is a very fine example of fourteenth century work. There are a large number of stained glass panels, chiefly of Flemish and French work, and on one window is etched a Latin inscription signed by the notorious Dr. Sacheverell, who was imprisoned here prior to his trial. The house was generously thrown open to the visitors, who admired its many beauties and its furniture in keeping with the style of the house. The lovely gardens were much appreciated, and Mrs. Owen was sincerely thanked for her kindness, and cordial good wishes expressed for her husband's recovery.

The final goal was Sutton Coldfield, where the V.W. Bro. Canon Barnard, the Rector, conducted the party round the Church. The town is of considerable antiquity; it obtained a charter of incorporation in 1528 through the influence of John Veysey, Bishop of Exeter from 1519 to 1554. Veysey was a native of Sutton Coldfield, a wealthy man, and most generous to his birthplace. He built Moor House as his private residence, in 1528, a mile to the north-east of the town, where a modern house in the midst of woods now stands. Here he maintained great hospitality and considerable state, having, as Dugdale states, "cxl. men in scarlet caps and gowns, his household expenses then amounting to 1,500*l* per an., which was no small summe at that time." He built a town hall and market-place, founded and endowed the grammar school in 1540, and granted a park of 2,400 acres to the corporation.

The parish church of Holy Trinity is a large building consisting of chancel with north and south chapels, nave with aisles, south porch and west tower. There are a few traces of Early English work; the aisles date from 1533; the nave was rebuilt in 1760. In the north chapel is the mitred effigy of Bishop Veysey, who lived at Moor Hall until his death, in 1554, at the great age of 103. The Norman font originally belonged to the chapel of Over Whitacre; after serving for a time as a horse-block at an inn at Shustoke, it was rescued in 1856 and given to this church.

Afterwards Canon Barnard kindly entertained the visitors to tea at the Rectory, whence they returned to the Grand Hotel. In the evening the visitors were 'At Home' to the local Brethren, and Bro. L. Vibert gave an address on some interesting questions for Masonic research which provoked considerable and useful discussion.

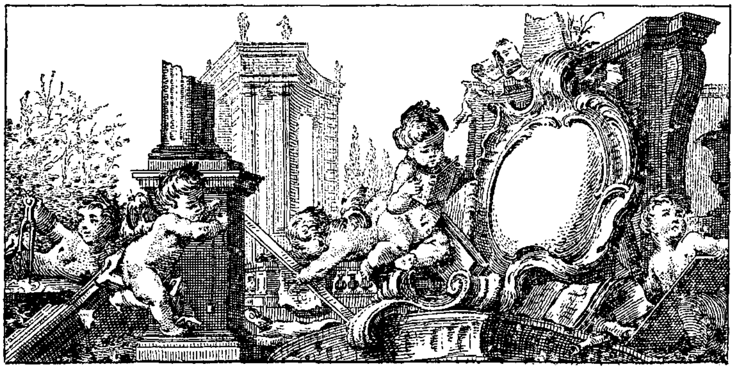
On Sunday, 6th July, the visitors attended a special service arranged for them at the Cathedral, where an address was given by the Rev. B. W. Gilbey, Prov.G.Chaplain.

Later the visitors dispersed to their respective homes. The general opinion was that the outing had been most interesting and useful, thanks to a large extent to the kindly welcome and assistance given by the Brethren of Warwickshire.

Those who attended the outing were:—

Bros. F. J. Asbury, of London, L.R., P.Pr.G.D.C., Surrey; W. N. Bacon, of London, P.M. 15; Rodk. H. Baxter, of Rochdale, P.Pr.G.W., I.P.M. 2076; J. Blackburn, of

Birstall, 264; H. Bladon, of London, P.G.St.B.; F. J. Boniface, of London, S.D. 2694; Robt. Bridge, of Rochdale, P.Pr.G.D.; J. M. Bruce, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, P.Pr.G.W.; Geo. W. Bullamore, of Albury, Herts., 441; W. N. Cheesman, of Selby, P.Pr.G.W.; Robt. Colsell, of Chingford, P.A.G.D.C.; R. F. J. Colsell, of Chingford, S.D. 12; Thos. M. Copland, of Falkirk, Pr.G.D., Stirlingshire; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, of Wisbech, P.M. 2283, S.D. 2076; Dr. A. J. Cross, of Dalton-in-Furness, P.Pr.G.W.; H. T. C. de Lafontaine, of London, P.G.D.; R. A. Dickson, of London, P.Pr.G.D.C., Essex; E. H. Dring, of London, P.G.D., P.M. 2076; Wm. S. Ellis, of Nottingham, P.Pr.A.G.P.; L. A. Engel, of London, L.R.; G. H. Fennell, of London, L.R.; David Flather, of Sheffield, P.A.G.D.C.; A. Gates, of Sherborne, A.G.D.C.; J. T. Gaunt, of Eaglecliffe, P.Pr.G.Sup.W.; J. F. H. Gilbard, of London, 56; F. W. Golby, of London, P.A.G.D.C.; Arthur Heiron, of London, L.R.; J. Walter Hobbs, of London, L.R.; John Holt, of Yarm-on-Tees, P.Pr.G.D., Durham; F. Houghton, of London, 1500; Andrew Hunter, of Falkirk, Pr.G.Sup., Stirlingshire; J. R. H. Inkster, of London, J.D., 2694; P. E. James, of Ashton-on-Mersey, W.M. 4365; T. F. Jolly, of Melbourne, P.Pr.G.M., W. Australia; R. E. Labrow, of Rawtenstall, P.Pr.G.D.; J. Heron Lepper, of London, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, S.W. 2076; Dr. S. T. Lord, of Rochdale, P.Pr.G.D.; H. A. Matheson, of London, P.M. 2978; A. Y. Mayell, of London, P.M. 227; W. L. Mildren, of Barrow-in-Furness, P.Pr.G.Sup.W.; H. E. Miller, of London, P.Pr.A.G.D.C., Durham; C. A. Newman, of Peterborough, 607; H. D. Parsons, of Eaglescliffe, P.Pr.G.W.; E. Pickstone, of Radcliffe, P.M. 2930; Geo. Pocock, of London, P.M. 2730; Cecil Powell, of Weston-super-Mare, P.G.D., P.M. 2076; J. H. Pullen, of London, P.M. 410; J. W. Rigg, of Castleton, Pr.G.Stew.; Sir Alfred Robbins, of London, P.G.W., W.M. 2076; Rev. Dr. H. G. Rosedale, of London, P.G.Ch.; A. P. Salter, of London, P.M. 2932; Thos. Selby, of Eaglescliffe, P.Pr.A.G.D.C.; C. E. Smalley-Baker, of London, 357; B. A. Smith, of London, 1962; W. J. Songhurst, of London, P.G.D., Sec. 2076; J. W. Stevens, of London. P.A.G.Sup.W.; Dr. John Stokes, of Sheffield, J.G.D., J.W. 2076; J. E. S. Tuckett, of Bristol, A.G.S.B., P.M. 2076; W. D. Vallance, of Rhodesia, P.M. 1321; Lionel Vibert, of Bath, P.Dis.G.W. Madras, P.M. 2076; E. H. Watts, of Sidcup, 683; G. C. Williams, of London, P.M. 25; W. J. Williams, of London, J.D. 2696; W. Wonnacott, of London, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M. 2076; H. R. Wood, of Manchester, P.Pr.G.D.; and Dr. A. E. Wynter, of Bristol, 1139.



FRIDAY, 3rd OCTOBER, 1924.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., W.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, S.W.; John Stokes, J.G.D., J.W.; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.Pr.G.W., Berks., P.M., D.C.; George Norman, P.A.G.D.C., J.D.; W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M.; and E. H. Dring, P.G.D., P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. James Thomson, P.G.St.B., F. J. Asbury, G. Trevelyan Lee, G. E. W. Bridge, G. W. Bullamore, J. Walter Hobbs, W. J. Williams, Robert Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., Wm. C. Terry, W. Digby Ovens, Ed. M. Phillips, Harry Tipper, P.G.St.B., Alfred C. Silley, H. Johnson, W. Dewes, B. Telepneff, G. W. South, J. A. Cheston-Porter, H. C. Stagg, J. R. Thomas, F. C. Stoate, A. E. Biggs, G. T. Harley Thomas, P.A.G.S.B., G. Derrick, A. F. Bare, Rev. C. J. S. O'Grady, F. S. Henwood, Wilfred Brinkworth, B. Ivanoff, Arthur Heiron, Hy. G. Gold, A. Presland, R. C. Eustace, A. L. Miller, Wm. Lewis, Geo. C. Williams, A. E. Wynter, H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., R. Daubeny, W. Ridgeway, Alfred Hildesley, F. W. Le Tall, Albert D. Bowl, Jno. R. Caswell, E. Glaeser, L. R. Ray, W. C. A. Candy, J. F. N. Darbyshire, W. H. Rowlands, P. Green, Wm. R. Semken, and Jno. Buckley.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. John Church, Affability Lodge No. 317; N. Gambs, J. Loukine and A. Soldatenkov, of the Aldwych Club Lodge No. 3794; Jas. J. Nolan, W.M. Pegu Lodge No. 3330; F. R. Ayton, W.M. South Norwood Lodge No. 1139; Rev. F. Carew Thomas, Ara Lodge No. 1, Auckland, N.Z.; Robert Frew, P.M. Oriental Lodge No. 687; P. Cart de Lafontaine, Lodge of Antiquity No. 2; Harold M. Horan, Albany Lodge No. 151; B. R. Helliwell, W.M. Marble Craft Lodge No. 3522; Geo. Bovington, Donoughmore Lodge No. 6; and W. Stubbings, Bolingbroke Lodge No. 2417.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported from Bros. Rev. H. Poole, I.G.; Ed. Conder, L.R., P.M.; S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; Rev. W. W. Covey-Crump, S.D.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Rodk. H. Baxter, P.Pr.G.W., E.Lancs., I.P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; and J. E. S. Tuckett, A.G.S.B., P.M.

Bro. John Heron Lepper, P.Pr.Ins., Antrim, was elected Master of the Lodge for the ensuing year; Bro. Edward Armitage, P.G.D., P.M., was re-elected Treasurer; and Bro. J. H. McNaughton was re-elected Tyler.

Three Lodges and Thirty-three Brethren were elected to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

The SECRETARY drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. WM. WONNACOTT.

JEWEL, R.A., 1798, of Wm. Purdie, Caledonian Chapter No. 2; made by Masters, a member of the same Chapter.

JEWEL, P.M., of British Lodge No. 4, given to Wm. Adams, Peruke Maker, of the Ancient French Lodge (later L'Espérance). This brother supported a petition on 14th February, 1776, for a Scottish Lodge in London (St. Andrews, now No. 231) signing as Master of the Cumberland Lodge. (See *A.Q.C.* xviii. (1905), p. 73.)

SNUFF BOX of Richard Carpenter Smith with Masonic Devices and Tracing Boards painted thereon. The Boards shown are of Harris's pattern, thus fixing the date as after 1823.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to Brother Wonnacott for kindly lending these objects for exhibition.

Bro. H. C. DE LAFONTAINE read the following interesting paper, and a hearty vote of thanks was passed to him on the proposition of Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins, seconded by Bro. J. Heron Lepper; comments being offered by Bros. John Stokes, W. W. Covey-Crump, and B. Telepneff:—

THE UNKNOWN PHILOSOPHER.

BY BRO. H. C. de LAFONTAINE, P.G.D.

"WE cannot obtain a seat in our theatres unless we have taken the precaution to secure a ticket which admits us. This ticket is issued only under the seal of the manager; furthermore, unless we book our seats in advance, we risk being crushed in the crowd which is gathered at the doors waiting for tickets to be issued; there is even a chance that we may not get a seat at all. This emblem, altogether temporal and terrestrial, instructs us that we are here below for the purpose of purchasing a title of admission to the divine festivals; that, if we neglect the precaution to secure this title, we shall assuredly not enter into that gathering of delight and rejoicing; that we must not put off till the last moment this needful piece of prudence, having regard to the inconvenience to which such delay may expose us; that this precaution is the more easy to take because depots for the sale of tickets are to be found everywhere; that we are, hence, inexcusable if we do not provide ourselves accordingly; that these titles to admission are not transferable, like those of our theatres, because our name is written on them; that there can be no double-dealing, because the names are called out by the manager; that we must be, therefore, well on our guard against deceivers who offer forged tickets of admission, which carry no title, whatever vogue the vendor may seek to procure for them."

This is a quotation from the works of Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin, a man who was commonly called "The Unknown Philosopher." The above passage is a similitude which at once arrests attention, and is a sort of *locus classicus* amidst many pages of intolerable dullness. Saint-Martin was a Mason, but, as we shall see, he was never by force of sundry happenings, one who cared for the ordinary routine of Masonry. Indeed, in the latter part of his life he discarded Masonry for a system of philosophy peculiarly his own. By a fortuitous meeting with a certain personage his thoughts and aspirations were, in his early Masonic days, turned in the direction of mysticism and occultism. He was a man who was largely influenced by various waves of thought, and before he settled down to a somewhat self-evolved creed he girouetted like a weathercock from one form of doctrine to another. Though he never married, he had a nice eye for the fair sex, and, in the manner of Dante and Petrarch, he conceived a tender, if Platonic passion, for a certain lady of his acquaintance. He was the most curious mixture of worldling and mystic, loth to forego the pleasures of agreeable and aristocratic society, and yet hermit-like in his inner longings for peace and solitude. His delicate constitution ill-fitted him for the battle of life, but he was sufficiently patriotic to serve his country in the hour of need, and to fall in with the new regime which strove to establish law and order after the chaos of the great French Revolution. The mention of the Revolution will show that Saint-Martin lived in troublous times, and yet so even was the tenor of his mind at that trying period that he was able, amidst all the horror and bloodshed, to carry on a calm and reasoned correspondence with a friend who lived in Switzerland. Such were the variations of fortune in his life that though he was at one time being entertained by duchesses, at another he was casting about as to where to find money to journey to Switzerland.

Saint-Martin was very partial to the drama, as is evinced by our opening quotation, but he was so charitable a man that often, when on his way to the theatre, he would suddenly remember the needs of some poor family and resolve to devote the money he would have spent in amusement to such charitable purpose. He also took a keen delight in music, and played the violin, but he speaks of his natural weakness preventing his ever attaining any great facility in the art.

He inherited many good qualities from his mother, but with his father he always seems to have retained a certain reserve. Yet, despite the barrier between father and son, which was largely due to Saint-Martin's deserting the profession of arms, after previously abandoning the legal profession, for both of which he had powerful sponsors, he was sufficiently dutiful to remain with his father in his last illness, and to minister to all his wants.

On his visit to England he was much attracted by the writings of William Law, and during his sojourn in this country he met several prominent Russians. This latter circumstance induced in him a strong desire to visit Russia. But when it came to his ears that the great Empress Catherine did not look on him with at all a friendly eye, because of what she considered to be a revolutionary element in his writings, he abandoned the idea.

Saint-Martin had a great admiration for the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau, as also Chateaubriand, and he had a not too satisfactory interview with the last-named personage. He endeavoured to obtain an interview with Voltaire, through his friend, the Marechal de Richelieu, but Voltaire, after reading one of his works, indignantly declined to receive him.

To Saint-Martin fell the singular privilege, if privilege it were, of being appointed the guardian of the young Dauphin, when that unhappy child was held in captivity in the Temple at Paris.

In his maturer years Saint-Martin rather veered round to the tenets of Swedenborg, but later he became an ardent disciple of Boehme, the celebrated German mystic, several of whose works he eventually translated. To him there was hardly a greater name than that of Boehme, and he has declared again and again there was no one for whom he had more veneration.

The life of Saint-Martin seems naturally to divide itself into three periods—his early years, which were comparatively uneventful; his riper years, when he became a disciple of that curious figure in Masonry, Martinez Pasqually, and after being saturated with his doctrines, made a bold bid for acquaintance with Swedenborgianism; his mature years, when he came under the subtle influence of the works and teaching of Boehme. The two latter periods can be largely illustrated by extracts from his letters which he wrote to Willermoz respecting the 'Elect Cohens,' the rite, based on Masonic principles, which is supposed to have been instituted by Martinez—and also by the correspondence between himself and the Baron de Liebisdorf, when he was possessed by the spirit of Boehme. The Baron was the friend, already alluded to, who lived in Switzerland.

Though Saint-Martin was no keen Mason, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, yet his life and doings touch at so many points, persons, and events connected with the Fraternity and otherwise, as to render him worthy of notice and honourable mention.

Before proceeding further, I should like to point out that, owing to the great resemblance between the names 'Martinez' and 'Martin,' many unfortunate errors have occurred. We must distinguish clearly between Martinism, a system of Masonry somewhat erroneously ascribed to Saint-Martin himself; and Martinezism, the system promulgated by Martinez under the name of 'The Elect Cohens.'

As to the early years of Saint-Martin, it is recorded that he was born on January 18th, 1743; that he came from a pious family living at Amboise in France; that he was brought up with all the severity which belonged to the traditional customs of that day by his father, and that his step-mother (his mother having died shortly after his birth) lavished on him an extraordinary amount of tenderness and affection. It was to this lady that, as he confesses

and as we have already hinted, he owes in great measure those qualities which caused him to be loved both by God and by his fellow-men. He calls to remembrance that when in her presence he always felt a great heart-searching which exercised upon him a very instructive and salutary effect. Although he was good-looking and well-proportioned, he was of so delicate a physique that, as he informs us, "I have been given only the semblance of a body." In his *Portrait Historique* he says, "In a materialistic sense, I have been rather sensual than sensible, and I think that if all men expressed themselves openly, they would agree that in this category there are many like myself." Whilst the step-mother's influence tended to lead him to good principles, the repressive attitude of his father forced him in great measure to retire within himself and cultivate a habit of solitary contemplation. There can be no doubt that this occasioned a certain morbid introspection which was to continue with him through life. To use his own words, "I have been gay, but this gaiety has only been as it were a super-imposed characteristic of my nature; my real complexion has been one of sorrow and sadness." He, at another time, uses this curious expression, "I have been obliged to put my mind in lodging amongst the Sacred Writings."

Saint-Martin had a great-uncle, a Mons. Poucher, who had been a State-Councillor. In the hope that this might have an auspicious influence on his career, his father decreed that his son should take up the profession of law, and from college he went straight to a Law-School. The city in which this school was situated is conjectured to be that of Orleans. But the study of jurisprudence was not at all to the young man's taste, and a great deal of time was employed in reading the works of philosophers. His predilection for this branch of literature had been fostered by the reading of a book by Abbadie, called "The Art Of Knowing Oneself." There was now a contest of wills: the paternal and the stronger, urging the continuance of studies in the hope of entering the magistracy; the filial and the weaker, manifesting increasing antipathy to those same studies, which were already well hated. The stronger will triumphed for the time, and it may fitly be remarked here that if there were any virtue which Saint-Martin exhibited in a transcendant degree it was that of filial piety, as we have already foreshadowed. Much as his sensitive nature may have suffered from the hardness and aloofness exhibited by his male parent, he at all times showed himself to be a most dutiful and attentive son.

When Saint-Martin's legal studies were concluded he was received as a King's Advocate at Tours. This advancement did not bring any pleasure to the young recipient. Indeed, he tells us, in exaggerated style, that he filled his hat with his tears, so miserable and lonesome did he feel. The end of the whole matter was that he begged and prayed to be allowed to abandon his legal career. This was a deadly blow to the father's ambitions, and now by a strange *volte-face* he was put into the army. I suppose the profession of arms was chosen because the Duc de Choiseul, to oblige the Saint-Martin family, gave our ex-advocate a commission in the regiment of Foix, then stationed at Bordeaux. But, as a soldier, he was not much better off than as a lawyer, for all his sentiments and inner longings were in direct opposition to the principles of warfare. We are not told whether at this juncture he studied military science, or satisfied himself with a due performance of the routine duties pertaining to his position. But we do know that he still maintained his study of religion and philosophy.

This much we glean regarding the early years of Saint-Martin. They do not reveal with any amplitude his personality, although one may easily from these scattered threads weave a portrait of a boy and of a youth and of a budding man of a timorous and yielding disposition, possessing refined sensibilities, somewhat out of joint with the age in which he lived, flying from the grossness of surrounding materialism, into the intricate subtleties of a somewhat specious spiritualism, high-minded, generous, of good and noble stock—in short, one who had all the makings of a high-souled *gentilhomme de France*.

Now we arrive at a turning-point in the life of Saint-Martin, for it was at Bordeaux that he met that mysterious personage, Martinez de Pasqually, and this meeting had a great effect upon his life and conduct for many years. Indeed, it may be said that some of the impressions conveyed through imbibing the doctrines of Martinez remained with Saint-Martin until his dying hour. We must now leave our young officer for a time and devote our attention to a brief consideration of Martinez and his mysticism, for that is essential to a proper appreciation of after-events in the life of Saint-Martin.

Martinez de Pasqualis, or Don Martinez de Pasqually, or, as he sometimes signed himself, Despasqually de la Tour, was one of those weird personages who occasionally appear in a generation. He belonged to an age that was extraordinarily prolific in the production of seers, magicians, charlatans, and quacks. There was a good deal of charlatanism in the composition of his nature, but this was to some degree tempered by his being animated by high ideals and a steady searching after truth. His whole character is an enigma, and at the outset we are confronted with doubts as to his nationality. Some write him down a Roman Catholic, others consider him to have been a Portugese Jew, and the latter surmise seems to be the most probable one. In the municipal archives of Bordeaux, which contain, amongst other things, the parish registers of the church at Ste. Croix, we find Martinez subscribing himself, on the occasion of his son's baptism, in this high-sounding manner—Jacques Delivon Latour de la Case Don Martinets de Pasqually. It has been said that in styling himself 'Don' he confesses to be a Spaniard, and that if he had been a Portuguese he would have written 'Dom' instead of 'Don.'

Martinez comes into the picture, so far as Saint-Martin is concerned, on his establishing himself at Bordeaux. He married whilst there a niece of a former major of the regiment of Foix, the same regiment to which Saint-Martin belonged, and it was through his wife that Martinez obtained an introduction to the officers of this same company. Martinez would seem in his Masonic career to have fared in many respects much as did the famous, or, as some will have it, the infamous Cagliostro. In some places he made many disciples; in others he was jereed at and forced to beat a hasty retreat. He and his like gave themselves out as possessed of powers which when put to the test utterly failed. In Bordeaux, Martinez seems to have been especially successful. There were three or four Lodges at Bordeaux at that time. One of them, the Loge Anglaise, exists to-day. It has had a long and chequered career, always hovering in its allegiance to a Sovereign Body. At one time it is looking to England; at another it is under the protection of the Grand-Orient. Just before the last great war it acknowledged the rule of the New Grande Loge Nationale of France; just now it has again run back to the fostering care of the Grand-Orient, which body has received these recalcitrant members with open arms. It was the Lodge of Joshua that received Martinez; this Lodge subsequently became the temple of the Elus-Ecossais.

As to the system of Martinez, it may be said briefly that its dominating idea was the acquisition by mental, corporeal, and spiritual means of those powers which permit men to enter into relations with those who people the spirit-world. Martinez invited to his 'seances' those who were looking for inward illumination. He traced ritual circles, wrote sacred words, and prayed with humility and apparent fervour, doing everything in the name of Christ. When these incantations were accomplished, invisible beings materialized, moved and spoke like ordinary mortals, gave exalted teachings, and invited those present to betake themselves to prayer and reflection. When the spirits disappeared, Martinez gave an instruction on the methods to be pursued by each disciple who was desirous of repeating these experiments, and when he was assured that anyone had succeeded in obtaining communication with the invisible and unseen world he exalted such an one to a higher degree. His disciples bear testimony that the training was long and tedious, and in the case of a well-known follower it is said to have lasted for a period of ten years. It is

commonly supposed that Martinez was a disciple of Swedenborg, and that he incorporated in his ritual many of the doctrines of his master. Some writers indignantly deny any relation between the two systems, but the denial is sometimes more in the nature of personal pique than of absolute statement. Martinez adopted as a basic idea the simple broad principles of Masonry. He made a careful choice of his candidates and preferred those endowed with more than average mental capabilities. He admitted women on the same footing as men and with the same safeguards. Some have described his system as being compounded of Gnosticism and Christianised Judaism, both of these being intertwined with teachings drawn from the Kabbalah. And this may be a not inapt explanation of the root-matter of his doctrine.

Martinez wrote a long treatise of 355 pages to explain his doctrine; this was only allowed to be used by the inner circle of his disciples. Its full title was "A Treatise on the Reintegration of Beings in Primary Properties, Virtues, and Spiritual and Divine Powers." It purported to be a review of Biblical history so far as the same deals with the Fall of Man and its ultimate consequences. At the end of the MS. is a note to the effect that the author "has not written any more of this treatise, which should have been much longer, and which would have reached, as he told his friends, its highest importance when describing the advent of Christ." In his review of various Biblical personages, Martinez, when he ceased writing his treatise, had only arrived at a consideration of Saul, which evidences that the work must have been planned on a grandiose scale. Therefore, it will be understood that the writer only exposes part of his system, and that it is really only the Fall and its consequences which is described, and not the succeeding Re-integration of Beings.

It may be of passing interest to quote a few passages from letters written by Martinez regarding ritual observances in connection with his Rite. With regard to material sustenance, he says: "Concerning what you ought to do and the life you ought to lead to prepare yourself for your spiritual and temporal functions, I will only say that, looking at the temporal side, I forbid you to partake of the blood of any animal, to eat such food as a tame pigeon, as also anything in the nature of kidneys, and the fat pertaining to meat. You will diligently fast during the seasons prescribed at each equinox." With regard to devotions, he thus ordains: "You will not fail each day to recite the Office of the Holy Ghost, neither will you omit to say the Miserere, and this you will do in the middle of your room, at night before going to bed, your face turned towards the angle which looks towards the rising sun; you will conclude by saying the De Profundis, this to be recited kneeling and bending forward till your head touches the ground. The Miserere is to be said whilst standing." With regard to clothing, the postulant is given these directions: "You will be dressed simply in vest and pants with black socks; there must be no metal on you, not even so much as a pin, and you must have no shoes on your feet." At a later stage there is a command to wear a long white robe made in the fashion of an alb and bordered with a deep border of a red the colour of flame. There is to be a light-blue collar round the neck, a black cord and a red scarf round the waist, and a pale green scarf over the left shoulder. There is a curious passage in one letter. It runs thus: "Our Order contains a real science; it is founded on pure and genuine truth. You possess all the emblems of this pure truth. Look, for instance, at your five unequal fingers and five unequal toes on each hand and foot—taking the hand, the middle finger represents the soul; the thumb, good sense; the first finger, good understanding; and the two other fingers, bad sense and a corrupt understanding; these being demoniacal properties. We shall understand easily by this figure that man whilst here below is always engaged in warfare with the powers of evil." I daresay all this does not sound very convincing, and many may be prone to liken it to some processes of modern spiritualism and the practice of counterfeit palmistry, and perhaps one would

not be too wrong in describing it as a farrago of nonsense. Yet I have felt bound to allude, even if in the briefest terms, to these things, for a reason which you will presently apprehend.

Martinez necessarily had many enemies, and he was harassed on all sides; his frequent impecuniosity did not make matters more easy for him; his persistent demands on his friends for means to discharge his debts alienated their sympathies. So it is not surprising that he suddenly disappeared, taking a journey to St. Domingo, to recover, as he said, a large property from a man who held it unjustly, and to claim succour from two wealthy marriage-relations who lived in that colony. He never returned to France. His last letter, written in 1774, gives us the news that he is stricken with fever, and before passing away he nominates his successor.

Having in most summary fashion disposed of Martinez, we must now carry our thoughts back to Saint-Martin, whom we left at Bordeaux engaged in military duties.

There appears to be evidence from letters that were written in 1771 that Saint-Martin received at one and the same time the three symbolical degrees of Masonry as practised by the school of Martinez; he was afterwards inducted into the higher grades of the Order. He was twenty-five years old when he became an initiate. He mentions the fact of his initiation in these words: "It is true that I have received the three degrees at the same time; but I do not know that I am any better for that circumstance. M. de Balzac conferred the degrees on me." Martinez, in one of his letters, writes: "I must advise you that M. de Saint-Martin tells me that he is coming here" (to Bordeaux) "for his winter quarters, perhaps with the Tres Puissant Maitre de Grainville. I am expecting also the Tres Puissant Maitre de Balzac to come from La Rochelle to pass some days with me in order to instruct them and receive their patents permitting them to found Lodges in the countries they are passing through." De Grainville was captain of the regiment in which Saint-Martin served. When the arrival actually takes place, Martinez writes: "I must advise you of the arrival of De Grainville with Maitre de Saint-Martin." It will be noticed that in this latter reference De Grainville is simply described by name without the Masonic designation of "Tres Puissant," and that Saint-Martin is styled "Maitre." There may be some confusion in the mind of Martinez, but it looks somewhat as if both these young men had already taken these three degrees before they arrived at Bordeaux. It may have been that the ceremony took place in Paris during a visit to that city. One cannot form a clear judgment of the matter. At all events, Martinez did not lose any time in exercising his influence over them, and Saint-Martin became so engrossed in the mysteries now beginning to be unfolded to him that he resigned his commission, and became an active assistant to Martinez, taking charge of his correspondence, and making himself a generally useful factotum. Martinez says, in the postcript to one of his letters: "Maitre Saint-Martin is always working for us."

There now begins a long correspondence between Saint-Martin and Jean-Baptiste Willermoz, a prosperous merchant at Lyons. This starts in 1771 and is carried on till 1790. A great deal of it is concerned with ritual references and directions, but here and there we meet with personal touches which are distinctly interesting as revealing the inner man, so far as Saint-Martin is concerned. Before giving any extracts from this correspondence, it seems now to be the moment to say a few words concerning Willermoz, for I always feel that the more we can make these worthies living entities the more they mean to us when we hear them mentioned.

Jean-Baptiste Willermoz, a Lyons merchant, was already a Mason, and occupied posts of distinction in that body, when this correspondence commenced. His efforts were largely directed towards the formation and grouping together of associations of Masons who were known under the name of the Illuminés, and whose high philosophic principles attracted such seekers after truth as was Saint-Martin. The energies of Willermoz were also employed in promoting the assemblies of Masons for the purpose of mutual deliberation and effective

organization. He will be remembered for his zeal in promoting those Masonic Congresses or 'Convents' as they were called in the French tongue. Willermoz was Master of the Lodge *La Parfaite Amitié* at Lyons from 1756 to 1763. This Lodge afterwards joined forces with another Lyons Lodge, *Les Vrais Amis*, and took the title of *Les Deux Loges Réunies*, and in 1782 it was known as *Les Amis de la Vérité*. It disappeared completely during the stormy period of the great French Revolution. Willermoz, on quitting the chair of this Lodge, took a leading position amongst the adherents of the Martinez Rite of Elect-Cohens, and propagated the same industriously in Lyons and other centres. This is a somewhat nebulous way of presenting the man; you will come to know him better through the correspondence that we are now about to consider.

I shall now, like the bee, though devoid of that insect's reliable accuracy, endeavour to cull from the letters some informing essence which may compact itself in your minds in the form of the wax of remembrance. In the first letter Saint-Martin writes, by way of introduction: "Although I am not known to you, I have often received proofs of your consideration from Bro. de Grainville, my old friend, proofs which I have fully appreciated. I call de Grainville my old friend because I am not now allied with him in the military service, which I have now quitted in order to follow better the career on which you are embarked."

The following passage from the second letter will show us Saint-Martin's naive modesty and delicacy of sentiment:—"With regard to the confidence that you are pleased to repose in me in entirely exposing your thoughts on our ceremonies, it would not become me, considering your high position, to proffer any observation. Before one who is my judge I should only listen and preserve silence."

That these letters are not entirely concerned with matters of Masonic import can be shown by this mundane extract from the fourth letter:—"Mdme. de Pasqually leaves you an absolutely free choice as to the colour, the design, and the shade of the broché silk from Tours that you promised to have made for her. She sends you her very best respects; she is light brown." I am rather puzzled as to whether the last statement refers to her hair, her eyes, her complexion, or whether it is a delicate suggestion as to the appropriate colour for the dress.

In this same year, 1771, Saint-Martin writes: "I have told the Master" (*i.e.*, Martinez) "how much you desire that Masonic instruction should be given to women; he asks you not to be impatient in that matter. He will keep his word, but he is so little disposed just now for that sort of work that he does not believe he could at this juncture undertake it." Saint-Martin again assures Willermoz of his deep personal regard and regrets that they are only at present known to each other by epistolary communication.

In the next letter we hear that Madame is very pleased with the pattern of the silk, and desires that the silk may be sent by the most expeditious and the cheapest transport, also, and this must have been gratifying to Willermoz, "she wishes to know the price." There is only one letter in 1772, and in the course of the same Saint-Martin asks Willermoz not to address him as a former officer of the Regiment of Foix, as he retired too young from the service to have been able to merit any recompense, much less any compliments.

In a letter written in 1773 Saint-Martin signs himself as a Rose-Croix Mason, indicating that he was now a member of that body. The same letter betrays an unmistakable leaning towards the admission of women into the privileges of the Order. He asks whether woman has not the same work to do, the same enemy to fight against, the same rewards to hope for, as has man, and then argues that she ought, therefore, to be furnished with the same weapons of warfare. Saint-Martin now talks about a journey to Lyons, and he goes so far as to ask Willermoz to procure a lodging for him, as near to his house as may be obtainable. He says that he should find more tranquillity in that way than if he stayed at an inn, and it would be distinctly more economical. In a later letter he rather hints that if a lodging cannot be procured he would much

like to stay with Willermoz, and he assures him that he is a person whose wants are few and whose appetite is far below the normal. In 1774, after his arrival at Lyons and his meeting with Willermoz, he departs with his host's brother for a tour in Italy. When they arrived at Coni the travelling companion fell ill, but Saint-Martin seems to have possessed sufficient medical knowledge and common sense (a necessary ingredient in all medical treatments) speedily to effect a cure. He administered the medicine; a doctor attended to the blood-letting, a practice in vogue in those days; and, lo! the trick was done.

Between the years 1774 and 1775 the ties of friendship between Saint-Martin and Willermoz appear to have been strained almost to breaking point. The exact cause of the quarrel is not definitely stated, but one may conjecture that it arose in the first instance through a dissimilarity of spiritual outlook between the two men; the one, Willermoz, attaching an undue importance to the mere signs and symbols employed in Masonic rites; the other, Saint-Martin, straining at the great truths behind these things, rejecting the temporal for the eternal. This contrast remind one of the episode recounted in another series of letters, but which may here be naturally related, as it seems to illustrate that which has just been stated. It is said that Saint-Martin said to Martinez, and on more than one occasion, "But tell me, Master, are all these accessories necessary in order to pray to God?" and we are told that this was the laconic answer: "We must be content with that which we possess."

In consequence of the rupture alluded to, we find Saint-Martin writing from Paris in this strain:—"A thousand cruel experiences have taught me how mistaken I was when I counted on my own strength and how needful it was that I should be freed from obstacles before I could dare to brave them. I confess that for our mutual good it is necessary, despite personal feelings, to sacrifice the hospitality of your dwelling, as also all those sweet pleasures to be derived from contact with the most amiable of families, and all those advantages contrived by you with such well-meaning generosity. We must carefully avoid putting any stumbling-block in the way of our brethren by making an open display of any separation between us." Saint-Martin, therefore, proposes that he should, under the pretext of carrying on various chemical experiments, take some apartments at Lyons, and ally himself with a certain M. Privat, who was then conducting researches in medicine. He continues: "I have run the risk of losing your friendship, and it is only so noble a soul as yours that could have preserved the same, after having seen me under conditions of such extreme disadvantage. And if these conditions continued I should very likely entirely lose your esteem, and all these misfortunes would happen simply because we do not fully understand each other." In several of the letters addressed at this time to Willermoz there are frequent allusions to straitened circumstances, and Willermoz has to conduct some monetary negotiations and investments on behalf of Saint-Martin.

In 1776 Saint-Martin is at Toulose, and he writes from there that he prefers the Brethren whom he meets there to the Dukes he rubs shoulders with at Paris, because the former are more approachable in a moderate-sized town, and there is not such an anxiety about material things as in a large city.

His opinions at this time regarding the admission of women into Masonry seem to have undergone some slight change, inasmuch as he now writes: "I persist in the opinion that women can only be admitted into our midst in quite small numbers, and then only after the strictest examination."

Though Saint-Martin had, as we have seen, told Willermoz that his appetite is far below normal, we find him at this time writing to Willermoz to say: "The repast has been frugal, but it was just sufficient to maintain life. Still my poor empty stomach finds itself not a whit the better for the meal." He has evidently gone too far in the way of privation and has consequently upset his digestive organs, for in the following letter he informs Willermoz that he has been persuaded to take Seidlitz powders and that his health is already much better.

In 1782, in one of Saint-Martin's letters, there is an interesting reference which I think deserves quotation. He writes from Paris, in the month of July: "Everyone is speaking here of the sickness which has attacked London, and which is known as influenza. It was said that all Paris was affected with the same malady, but I have not yet seen anyone who has been attacked!" What relation this bears to our own present-day epidemic, which appears to recur in cycles, I know not, but it would seem to be something quite akin to what happens in our days.

A letter written from Paris in 1783 shows us that the breach between Willermoz and Saint-Martin was by no means healed, for he says: "I have depicted you everywhere as a most virtuous man and one whose heart was made to interest those who have had the pleasure of your acquaintance, but I have by no means disguised the fact that I did not think that your point of view, in matters common to both of us, was a happy one. It is a fine thing to burn with zeal for the Lord's House, but it was recommended to the Apostles to be wise as serpents, and the first step in prudence is in my belief the science of patience."

In 1784, when Saint-Martin was flirting with Mesmerism, he writes from Paris to give an account to Willermoz of what he had seen in regard to this system at Busancy. He tells him that he had not actively engaged in the treatments, and though he gave such assistance as one would ordinarily give to sick and infirm people, he did not at any time take part in the magnetising process, as it was considered that he was not sufficiently robust for such a task. He was now a member of the occult society founded by Mesmer. In this connection he worked principally with Puysegur, who made many discoveries concerning the various phenomena of sleep-walking. It may be known that the friends of Mesmer, amongst whom was Marie Antoinette, had succeeded in obtaining a Royal Commission for a full examination of Mesmer's claims by the French Academy of Science. The historian, Bailly, was on the Commission, and Saint-Martin, having some doubts as to his attitude in the controversy, sought an interview with him. Saint-Martin led off with a wonderful account of the results obtained by treating horses with magnetism, and ended this account by saying that horses could certainly not be accused of duplicity. Bailly, for the moment taken aback by this flanking movement, replied, when he had recovered himself, "How do you know, Sir, that horses do not think?" To which Saint-Martin abruptly answered: "Sir, you are very forward for your age." This hasty exhibition of temper ended the interview. Saint-Martin acknowledged in one of his works that he was unduly impudent on the occasion, but he also qualifies the finding of the Commission as being utterly miserable and unworthy of its members. But this flighty excursion on a by-path of science is somewhat outside our immediate subject, and we must return to the high road of sober narration.

In 1784, a year which seems to have been an important one in the career of Saint-Martin, we have in a letter to Willermoz the following allusions to Masonic matters. Saint-Martin refers to a visit he has paid to the *Loge de la Bienfaisance* at Lyons, and adds: "I should indeed have been present yesterday at the St. John's Feast, to which I was invited, if I had been free from engagements." I may here remark that I can find no trace of such a Lodge as a regular Masonic Lodge at Lyons, although the word *Bienfaisance* was in great vogue as a name for a Lodge at that time. The difficulty in tracing this Lodge may arise from the fact that it belonged to the Order of the Strict Observance. In the traditions of the Strict Observance it was said that after the death of Jacques Molay, the celebrated Templar, the Provincial Grand Master of Auvergne, Pierre d'Aumont, with two Commanders and five Knights sought shelter in a Scottish island where d'Aumont was constituted Grand Master. There now began to be built up a system of Templar Masonry which ultimately came to be known under one aspect as the Order of the Strict Observance. This system had its chief provincial headquarters at Lyons, and the centre of its activities was this same *Loge de la Bienfaisance*. It was to the members of

this body that Saint-Martin in 1774 gave a series of addresses, one of which, entitled "The Ways of Wisdom," is preserved for us in his posthumous works. This is an address which might have been given at a meeting of any philosophical society or assembly of divines, and does not in any way appear to belong to Masonry proper. Still, it may be interesting, as showing Saint-Martin's bent of mind and his high moral standard, to quote the opening and concluding paragraphs. They run thus:— "You have desired, my Brethren, that I should set down for you some instructions on the spiritual philosophy to which you and I have had the honour to be called. I cannot better respond to your wishes than by conversing with you on the ways which conduct man to wisdom and sustain him therein. For the possession of all possible sciences would only be for us an embarrassing, uncertain, and even pernicious treasure, if we were not previously well-instructed as to the true end and aim of these things and the means that we have continually to take for the adequate fulfilment of their object." "You see, my Brothers, that the only way we can stand firm is a way continually open to us, and it is that intimate union by which we shall represent the love that our Creator has for us; it is that active charity which will render us mutually sympathetic for each other's misfortunes; it is in fine that very earth on which wisdom scatters with profusion all her gifts, when she finds it well prepared to receive them, and consequently here is the immense field in which all the virtues of the Divine Principle ought to germinate, those virtues that we are called upon to manifest whilst on this earth."

In the same letter in which Saint-Martin has alluded to this *Bienfaisance* Lodge, we have a reference to the approaching Congress of Masons organised by that body known as the Philalethes or Lovers of Truth, or as it has often been called, without regard to etymology, Searchers after Truth. As to the origin of this body it may be briefly said that some Masons, most of whom had been founders of the Grand-Orient of France, being much perturbed at the proceedings of the Strict Observance, established a system which came to be known as the Order of the Philalethes, or the Friends of Truth. You will notice that here we have even a third appellation for this body. This Philalethic system adopted the tenets in large measure of the Strict Observance, and elected as its head the Marquis Savalette de Langes, a man of great distinction, holding the post of King's Councillor and Royal Treasurer, and Masonically, the position of Grand Director of Ceremonies in the Grand-Orient and Master of the Lodge *Les Amis Reunis*, which Lodge became the centre of work for the new system. The working traditions more nearly resembled those attached to the Elect-Cohens than those belonging to the Strict Observance. In 1785 it was determined by the Philalethes to hold a congress to discuss the present position of Masonry and any reforms which might be of lasting value, and to this congress both French and foreign Masons were bidden. We find in the list of those who were invited three famous names, Mesmer, Saint-Martin, and Cagliostro, a combination which would provoke any one knowing the distinguishing characteristics of the three men to an inward chuckle. But the celebrities did not meet—Mesmer and Saint-Martin refused point-blank; Cagliostro, after an absurd exhibition of egotistic tyranny, did not present himself. This is how Saint-Martin speaks of his invitation to the congress:—"You can judge well from my present disposition that I am not anxious to join the crowd of searchers that friend Delanges is going to draw from the four quarters of the globe, on the fifteenth of February next. I have received a finely got-up circular to that effect, a copy of which you have probably already seen. But my reply is already decided upon; I will not set foot in their assembly. My God, what on earth should I do there?" I suppose that Saint-Martin knew that Cagliostro, the wonder-worker, had been invited, for he says: "I regard that man as a torment to truth."

A letter written in 1785 shows Saint-Martin in a period of gloomy introspection, self-depreciation, and despair, a morbid state into which he often fell. You will judge from the tone of the letter of his state of mind. He writes to Willermoz: "I do not speak of my material sins; I have committed some which

now cause me to blush with shame and which make me shed tears of blood when I think of the little benefit that I have derived from the graces made known to me by God in every possible manner, and His revelation that matter belongs to the enemy's kingdom. So you see, my master, my saintly friend, my father in God, the unfortunate condition of one who ought to have passed his days in searching after wisdom and truth, and who, in place of this, has allowed to accumulate upon him a host of uncleannessess which drag him down and strive to bury him in the gloom of utter privation. I pray you, be my guardian angel. I can write no more, my tears and sighs are suffocating me." This lachrymose condition belongs to the April of 1785, but it happily seems to have been of no protracted duration, for in June of that year Saint-Martin writes to Willermoz: "I accept with pleasure and gratitude the hospitality you offer me. Your table will furnish me with the same sufficiency that it does to yourself. The luxury that I have often come into contact with during my life has not spoilt me. On the contrary, I have always declaimed against it, as it is prejudicial to the well-being of both body and mind. I know that I shall want for nothing whilst with you, and I should be ashamed for you to think me one given over to the sin of gluttony." Further on in the same letter he says: "I shall send by the diligence a little case of books which will be useful to me in my daily work, such as my Hebrew Bible, some Hebrew dictionaries, and other things that I fear I might not find at Lyons."

A letter written at the beginning of 1787 is interesting, as it is dated from London, and tells Willermoz some of Saint-Martin's experiences in what was to him a strange land. Speaking of his journey, he say: "I arrived here on the tenth of January, after a sufficiently good journey, except that the sea passage was a little too long, and both I and my fellow travellers paid our due tribute to the waves." He then speaks of meeting a friend whom he wished to introduce to another friend, but the introduction was refused on the ground that he could not regard as Brothers all those who were Masons. Saint-Martin seems to have been much struck by a sort of visionary whom he encountered in our capital. This is how he describes the meeting: "I have just seen a man seventy-seven years old and one would say that he was only forty-five years of age. He has not slept for ten months and declares that he has awakened eternally. He has a style of inspiration which manifests itself by his quoting passages of Scripture with an accuracy that is so remarkable as to arouse a feeling of wonderment. He has never before seen me and has never heard anything about me, and yet he has told me the most astonishing things about my behaviour in my spiritual career and the various trials and experiences I have had to undergo. He is quite a man of the people, some say that he is mad." In his work, *Portrait Historique et Philosophique*, Saint-Martin refers again to this incident, and mentions that Best is the name of the old man. He adds these further particulars:—"When he saw me, he said, 'He has cast the world behind him.' This pleased me, because there is some truth in the statement. He then quoted the following passage from Jeremiah:—'Call unto me, saith the Lord, and I will answer thee, and show thee great and mighty things, which thou knowest not.' This also pleased me, and the more in that it came true in the succeeding fortnight."

As to England itself, Saint-Martin says: "I do not enter into any detail on the country that I have come to see, for I must first get some general idea about it. Though everything is to me very curious and interesting, I may say that however much I admired England I would never give it a pre-eminence over France, the land to which I owe my bodily and spiritual nurture, and those intellectual pleasures which the bonds of friendship have obtained for me. So you may be sure that I shall live and die a Frenchman."

Saint-Martin was acquainted to some extent with our language, but he does not appear to have made much effort to gain a more complete knowledge, for he says: "I shall know no more English when I leave here than when I arrived, for I nearly always speak French." The reason for his doing so is not far to seek, as it was largely caused by his environment. You may judge

that such is the case by these words: "Prince Galitzin, with whom I am staying, is a young man who is full of merit and admirable qualities. He has a wisdom far above his years and much discrimination in selecting his friends." Saint-Martin would seem to have had a great liking for the Russians. It may be that he was attracted by the Slav temperament with its curious mixture of mysticism, spirituality, and leanings towards theosophy. He appears to have had much pleasurable conversation with M. de Woronsow, who was at that time Russian Ambassador at London, for he writes: "He paid me many attentions, and during the short talks that we had together I found him possessed of a very lively intellect. I think I should have derived much benefit from his acquaintance if I had had more time to spare." In his notes on Russia and its people, Saint-Martin has occasion to allude more than once to that dominating personality, the great Empress, Catherine II., who was then ruling over that vast country. He tells us that the Empress wrote two comedies against the Martinists, in consequence of her growing dislike of that body. We must here understand that it is the teaching of Martinez that is assailed, as it was not till later that the Martinezists were confounded with the Martinists. Saint-Martin thought that he was personally attacked in these plays, he being a follower of Martinez, and the only consolation he can derive from the event is that, as he says: "These comedies only served to produce a large accession of members to the institution attacked." It is quite clear, as I have already premised, that Saint-Martin was fully conscious that the Empress was not favourably disposed towards him, for, when speaking of his first published work, he writes: "The Empress ordered the Bishop of Moscow to give her an account of the book *Des Erreurs et de la Verité*, which was for her a rock of offence. The bishop gave her the most reassuring and tranquillising report. But in spite of the many invitations I have had from friends to go to Russia, I shall not go during the life of the present Empress." This demonstrates that Saint-Martin was not destitute of worldly wisdom, and further shows that he possessed a far-seeing prudence.

With regard to these comedies, it may be mentioned that the Empress wrote many other pieces for the theatre, but the comedy-style seems to have been her preference. In a very characteristic letter to Grimm, she says: "You ask me why I write so many comedies. I will give you three reasons for my doing so: firstly, because it amuses me; secondly, because I want to uplift the national theatre which for want of new plays is somewhat neglected; and, thirdly, because it is good to irritate a little those visionaries who are beginning to stalk about with head in air." At another time she writes: "I consider that since people have flocked to see these pieces and have laughed heartily at their humour, and that they have had the effect of stopping the ebullition of the sectarian movement, they, therefore, in spite of their defects, have had the success they deserve. The road is open to anyone to produce better pieces, and when that anyone is found, we will cease making any more and will amuse ourselves with the efforts of other people." The plays that specially hold up to ridicule the various forms of Masonry then practised in Russia are *Chamane of Siberia*, *The Deceiver*, and *The Illusion*. I believe these plays have never been translated, and I much regret, as one who is not acquainted with the Russian language, the circumstance. We have in our ranks a very talented Russian, and I well remember the deep interest that was aroused by his remarkable paper on *Freemasonry in Russia*, a contribution of the highest importance. I hope he may be prevailed upon one day to make known to us these productions from the pen of so gifted a woman as was Catherine. You will remember that we heard in that paper of the suppression of Masonry in Russia, but I believe it is still practised there in secrecy. I had an interesting talk a while ago with a man who has lived for some years in that country. He told me, amongst other things, that he stayed at one time with a wealthy Russian nobleman, and on going into the house one day he noticed that the door of a room which had always been closed was left open. He entered and discovered himself to be in a splendidly-fitted library, containing a large collection of Masonic works. There

was a trap-door open in the floor, and, his curiosity being aroused, he descended a flight of steps and found himself in a vaulted chamber which was set out as for the prosecution of some Masonic rite. He naturally preserved a becoming silence as to what he had seen, but there can be no doubt as to the purpose for which the room was used, and I daresay that these instances could be multiplied. I believe that under the Bolshevik regime Masonry is severely banned, in common with all secret societies.

Just before going to England, Saint-Martin became acquainted with Mdme. de Coislin, the wife of the French Ambassador in London. A great intimacy sprang up between the two, but Saint-Martin eventually found her influence too dominating. He says that in the end, had the intimacy continued, "she would have dried up my intellect . . . She scratched at it, and nearly pulled out its roots." Mdme de Coislin introduced Saint-Martin to Lord Beauchamp, at one time our Ambassador in France, and Saint-Martin records that he received many civilities from this nobleman during his stay in England, and that they went together to Windsor and there met the famous Herschell.

Towards the end of 1787 Saint-Martin went to Rome, and from the Eternal City he writes to Willermoz in this strain:—"I am here since yesterday, and I could not help hurrying as soon as possible to the famous Church of St. Peter. I am almost stunned on beholding this wonderful building, and I have only satisfied my first hunger. My amazement did not prevent me praying to God for all good friends and especially for you, my dear Brother, in the temple of our first apostle." This is all we have about Rome, and, indeed, about Italy in general, save that he mentions that at Sienna there had been eighteen shocks of earthquake in twenty-four hours, and that he experienced the nineteenth shock whilst sitting at dinner.

In 1788 he writes from Strasburg about a certain young American he has met, a M. Despallieres, and he recommends him to the notice of Willermoz. The particulars he gives about him are as follows:—"He is a young man whom Providence has snatched from the corruption and abomination of false philosophic systems. He is very anxious to know you and also desires to be admitted into Masonry. He has a good heart, but a rather over-heated brain, but that is not uncommon in his native climate. Still, he is docile and intelligent."

In a letter written in 1789 he asks Willermoz some questions in regard to his joining, apparently, one of the higher grades in Masonry. He concludes his letter thus: "Whilst I am awaiting your answer, in order to come to a decision, I would ask you to erase the word 'gentleman' that has always been joined to my name in the list of members of the Lodge; I asked Brother Paganucci to do this some time ago, but he does not seem to have considered it necessary."

The Brother Paganucci here referred to was a merchant who was held in high esteem at Lyons, of which city he was a native. He was a very earnest Mason and was Secretary of the Lodge *La Bienfaisance*. You will remember that this was the Lodge in which Saint-Martin gave some addresses, and there can be no doubt that he was a member of it.

A letter written in 1790 shows that Saint-Martin's views regarding Masonry had undergone a considerable change since he last wrote to his friend. He now asks that his name should be erased from all Masonic registers and lists in which he has been inscribed since 1785, on the ground that his present occupations allow him no time to continue his Masonic career. He says that on this account he is no good as a Mason, and that his heart has never been in the work though outwardly he has been allied with it. He concludes his letter thus:—"I hope that we shall aways be united as Cohens, as indeed I am sure we shall be unless my resignation puts any obstacle in the way. In such a case I should have to sacrifice my initiation, seeing that the whole Masonic 'regime' becomes to me every day more incompatible with my manner of being and the simplicity of my walk in life."

We have now come to the end of our consideration of this correspondence with Willermoz, and we may consider that Saint-Martin, having reached the age of forty-six, has reached the period which divides his riper from his more mature years. During this, the second period of his life, we have seen him giving up his profession of arms in order to ally himself with Martinez in the pursuit of his mystic doctrines and occult practices. We have seen him form many friendships, and we have noted with interest his great and constant regard, in spite of difficulties and misunderstandings, for Willermoz. We have seen him undertaking various journeyings, and have welcomed him, in spirit, to these shores, and looked on him in communion with some of the brightest intellects of his time and generation. We have watched with curiosity the varying conditions of his nervous temperament, and have seen how he is sometimes oppressed with the gloom of an unhealthy and morbid introspection. We note with astonishment his almost abrupt detachment from his associations with Masonic views and ideals, and his apparent dissatisfaction with a system which had formerly helped to fill his spiritual aspirations. The picture is not complete; it is but a patchy outline; and many things have been omitted which might have filled in the missing portions and given us a more complete picture. But it is impossible, in a cursory survey, to weary the mind with a mass of heterogeneous information, and I have striven to keep to the lines announced in the beginning of this discourse. I, therefore, think that the right course is now to proceed to consider the correspondence between Saint-Martin and Liebisdorf, a correspondence which you will see is on a much higher plane of thought than the Willermoz series of letters. At the conclusion of this further consideration we shall be able to add any details which might be helpful to a fuller understanding of the man, and also refer briefly to his writings, a matter which has not yet been noticed in this paper.

This correspondence on which we are now entering took place during the years 1792 to 1797. The passages that I shall introduce are taken from the translation made by Edward Burton Penny, a translation which was published in 1863 under the title of "Correspondence between Saint-Martin and Kirchberger, Baron de Liebistorf." Liebisdorf was a member of the Sovereign Council of Berne, the capital city of Switzerland. He was a man of keen intellect, well-instructed, of an insatiable curiosity, a disciple of Kant, but at the same time a man who had been unduly flattered by acquaintance with notabilities and by the lavish praises bestowed upon him by the famous Rousseau when he was a young man.

I shall only pass in review those letters which appear to have any special interest or bearing on the life, and especially the Masonic life, of Saint-Martin. Speaking of the German writer, Boehme, he says: "I am no longer young, being near my fiftieth year; and at this advanced age I have begun to learn the little German I know, solely to read this incomparable author. Within the last few months I have procured an English translation of most of his works, that language being rather more familiar to me. I frankly acknowledge, Sir, that I am not worthy to untie the shoe-strings of that wonderful man, whom I look upon as the greatest light that has appeared on the earth since Him who is the Light Himself." In another letter we have a further reference to Boehme in these words: "What an interesting work might be composed, giving it a historical form, that it might be read eagerly by all men of desire—the life of a lover of truth, whom we might pass through the labyrinth of all the modern errors arising from false Freemasonry and unbelief, before introducing him to a respectable chosen one who should lead him in the right way. We would put into the mouth of this elect one the quintessence of your works and those of our friend Boehme, which are, actually, as little known among the learned, and amongst people of the world, as though they had been written in the centre of Arabia four thousand years ago! We would so lead our hero till he was devoured with hunger and thirst for the truth." Another letter mentions a M. de Hauterive, a man to whom Saint-Martin had been particularly attracted, as he presented an interesting study from a psychological point of view.

Liebisdorf wanted to know the truth about the alleged decorporisation of which Hauterive boasted. Saint-Martin writes, in answer to Liebisdorf's questions: "Your seventh question about M. de Hauterive obliges me to say that there is an exaggeration in what you have heard of him. He does not put off his corporeal envelope any more than others who, like him, have enjoyed more or less the same favours, put off theirs. The soul leaves the body only at death; but during life the faculties may extend beyond it, and communicate with their exterior correspondents without ceasing to be united to their centre, as our bodily eyes and all our organs correspond with surrounding objects, without ceasing to be connected with their animal principle, the focus of all our physical operations."

Saint-Martin, in speaking of his more intimate friends, says, regarding the Duchesse de Bourbon: "You are right, Sir, in having formed a good opinion of my late hostess. None can surpass her in the virtues of piety and the desire of all that is good; she is truly a pattern, especially for one in her rank. Nevertheless, I thought our friend Boehme too strong a nourishment for her mind, especially on account of the inclination she had towards wonders of a lower order, somnambulists, and prophets of the day. So I left her where she was." The Duchesse was the sister of the Duc d'Orleans and the mother of the Duc d'Enghien. Though separated from her husband, she lived a life becoming the dignity of her rank, and Saint-Martin may be said to have been in a sense her spiritual director.

In 1793 letters of mutual sympathy passed between Saint-Martin and Liebisdorf, the former having lost his father, and the latter his daughter. In his letter of condolence Saint-Martin says: "I have not been in a hurry to write to you, Sir, believing I should shortly hear from you again, to thank me for a present I sent you in the person of Count Divonne. This young man is more advanced than I am in inward Divine favours, for he is more worthy than I, and deserves better treatment." Saint-Martin met young Divonne when on his visit to England. In the same letter, alluding to his inclination to journey to Switzerland, he writes: "If I were free, my inclination would soon take me to Berne, as Divonne can tell you; but our home difficulties about certificates and passports are in the way. Moreover, I know not whether Frenchmen, who have not emigrated, can expect to be well received abroad, after what has passed at home." "What has passed at home," of course, refers to the period of the French Revolution.

In a letter belonging to this same year, 1783, we have an allusion to the proceedings of Cagliostro, for Saint-Martin writes: "I have heard of all those adventures in Lyons of which you speak; I do not hestitate to class them with the most suspicious order of things, notwithstanding that the good souls who were present may have received some happy transports, fruits of their piety and true desires. God continually brings good out of evil." In his reply Liebisdorf says: "The theurgy of Lyons may be decidedly classed amongst things of a most suspicious character. I met with an account of them, two years ago, in the criminal prosecution which was instituted against Cagliostro in Rome." Liebisdorf and Saint-Martin are here both referring to the visits of supernatural agents who are said to have presented themselves during the celebration of the rites of the so-called Egyptian Masonry.

In 1794 Saint-Martin writes to Liebisdorf to say that he has accidentally discovered that Boehme's works were a favourite study of Isaac Newton, who made copious extracts from them, and he adds these words: "I do not think that Newton derived from thence his system of attraction, because his system is altogether physical, and does not go deeper than the bark, whilst that of Boehme goes to the centre." In this letter, which is dated, in accord with the new Republican style, the 3rd Prairial (*i.e.*, May 23), he also gives the following information:—"I have been commissioned by my district to make a list of the books, manuscripts, and other monuments of the arts and sciences which the law has given to the nation in this territory, a work which is being done at once throughout the republic; the result of which will be a national library for every district." Towards the end of this year he sends Liebisdorf further particulars

of what is happening in France; he tells him that "all the districts of the Republic are ordered to send citizens of confidence to the Normal School at Paris to learn the system of teaching which is to be made general, and then return to their district to make teachers. I have been honoured by their choice for this mission, and there are only some formalities to be set in order for my own personal security. These formalities are necessary in consequence of my taint of nobility which forbids me from ordinarily making any long stay in Paris *until the conclusion of the peace*." There are two short statements in this letter which throw light on Saint-Martin's present physical condition. He says: "The weakness of my eyes is increasing every day," and "I am freezing here for want of fire-wood, whilst in my little country home I wanted for nothing; but we must not think of these things."

In 1795 he writes: "I have received a note from our friend Divonne. He is tutor to some young folk; his travels have taken him to London; he requests me to bring him to your remembrance, as does also Baron Silverhyelm, a Swede, who loves you well, and who is with him." The Swede here mentioned was the nephew of the famous Swedenborg, and Saint-Martin made his acquaintance at the very beginning of his Strasburg visit. Saint-Martin was greatly influencd by this new contact, and his works bear distinct impressions of such influence. Liebisdorf, in answer to Saint-Martin, says: "Divonne writes that nothing is so rare in the country where he is" (*i.e.*, England) "as to meet with men of weight and measure with whom to converse. Swedenborg has the most partisans. His disciples are numerous; they have a public service, a rite and worship of their own. Divonne had once the curiosity to attend their worship. Our friend, Divonne, is, in general, rather too deep, and at the same time too simple, for them. There have, however, been some men in that country who could appreciate Swedenborg; amongst others one called Law. Our friend Divonne is highly satisfied with Law's works; he considers them to be the milk of Boehme expressed and made potable for everybody." This reference to Swedenborg induces me here to interpolate two short extracts from the works of Saint-Martin anent this very subject. The first is from *L'Homme de Désir*," and is as follows:—"There are a thousand proofs in Swedenborg's works that he was often and highly favoured; a thousand proofs that he was often and deeply deceived; a thousand proofs that he beheld only the middle of his work, and knew neither its commencement nor its end . . . What furthermore are the credentials of Swedenborg? He offers no proof beyond his own visions and Holy Scripture . . . O illustrious and estimable man! thy writings may confer, notwithstanding, a great good by imparting to humanity a galvanic shock in its lethargy." The second extract, from the *Portrait Historique*, runs thus:—"While re-reading some extracts from Swedenborg I have been impressed that he had more of what is termed the science of souls than the science of spirits; and in this connection, though unworthy to be compared with Boehme as regards true knowledge, it is possible that he may be suited to a greater number of people; for Boehme is intended only for men who have been regenerated wholly, or at least for those who have a great desire to be so."

In the letter which Saint-Martin wrote to Liebisdorf during 1795 I note two personal allusions which are interesting. The first relates to monetary conditions, as we see by these words: "Financial matters in our present position fare ill with little 'rentiers' like me, and I might really have to sell all my property to be able to live one year or two in a foreign country." The other shows us improved physical conditions, for he writes: "I am staying for some time in the country with my few remaining relations. With the repose and wholesome food I here enjoy I repair my physical health, which had suffered considerably during my sojourn in Paris."

There is a remarkable passage in a letter belonging to this epoch concerning the internal troubles of France. It is to this effect:—"I do not believe that our French Revolution is an indifferent thing upon the earth; I look upon it as the revolution of human nature; it is a miniature of the last

judgment, with all its features, except that one thing succeeds another in it, whilst at the last everything will be done instantaneously. France has been visited the first, and that severely, because she has been very guilty. Those countries which are no better than she will not be spared, when the time of their visitation arrives."

In this same year, 1792, we find in one of the letters a further reference to a personage whom we have mentioned more than once—I mean the well-known Cagliostro. Saint-Martin says: "I met at an inn a Frenchman, formerly established in Lyons, called Gabriel Magneval. As he found that I was connected with one of his intimate friends at Bale, who was present, he was very open. We spoke of Lyons in 1784 and 1785. He was one of the first directors and contributors to that sort of temple which cost them 130,000 francs." This was the temple erected by the adherents of Cagliostro for the practice of Egyptian Masonry. Saint-Martin continues: "I did not conceal from Magneval my doubts and want of Christian faith in their master" (Cagliostro). "Magneval readily agreed to the worthlessness, and especially to the unbridled pride of their teacher; but he argued that the truth might, like the gifts of the Roman Church, pass through the channel of an impure priesthood, without losing its value; that they themselves were of good faith, and full of respect for our Divine Repairer." This title, as applied to Christ, is often found in the works of Saint-Martin. Saint-Martin concluded his account of this conversation in this manner:—"I found by Magneral's conversation that their master, notwithstanding his low morality, worked by the word, and that he even transmitted to his disciples the knowledge how to work in the same way, in his absence . . . Our conversation was interrupted; but the remarkable fact remains that an impostor like Cagliostro was in possession of the word." I ought to say that in the original it says that Gagliostro was in possession of the "words," not "word." So it would seem that the Egyptian rite was compounded of many elements, some of them being held in common by various degrees of Masonry. In another of the letters belonging to this year we have a very pleasant reference to Saint-Martin's love of music. Writing to Liebisdorf concerning one of his daughter's talents as a singer, he says: "I congratulate you on having under your roof an image of yourself who can recreate your ears with her harmony. If fortune ever permit us to meet, I may perhaps be audacious enough to offer to accompany her on the violin; for I practised it in my youth, and although I do not retain much of it, I still occasionally take it up; and nothing would encourage me more to do so than to contribute to your recreation."

In 1796 Liebisdorf mentions in one of his letters a name well-known to Saint-Martin. He writes:—"You will, no doubt, have known in your time a Portuguese theosophist, called Martinez Pasqualis. From what I have heard he was very profound and very advanced." Saint-Martin replies: "There were precious things in our first school. I am even inclined to think that Mr. Pasqualis, whom you name (and who, since it must be said, was our master), had the active key to all that our dear Boehme exposes in his theories, but that he did not think we were able to bear those high truths."

In July of this year Liebisdorf writes to say that "our friend, Divonne, whom I believed to be in Africa, in the suite of an envoy from the country in which he was living, has given me a very agreeable surprise by marching into my house at Morat, on his way to Lausanne, where he was going to see his parents . . . He promised to see me again in a few weeks; but a few days after leaving Morat the proclamation of our Government against French "émigrés" appeared. However, as his family left France before the Revolution, I hope to obtain an exemption for him."

That Saint-Martin possessed the true instincts of the book-hunter we may judge from the fact that he tells Liebisdorf that he has picked up for one *sou* a copy of a book that he has long wanted. He goes on to say:—"Imperfect as the volume is, the dealer did not take me in; and if he was pleased, so am I. I am not so much so with my stay in Paris. I cannot describe the suffocation

experienced when I arrived and, since I have been here, I find morality so much debased that I fancy I see the accomplishment of the thirteenth chapter of Isaiah on Babylon. The men whom I see passing in the streets and filling the city look to me like so many dragons, birds of the night, and wild beasts." It may be opportune to add to this extract the following passage from Saint-Martin's *Portrait Historique*, because, though written on quite a different occasion, it has an echo of the same sentiments. Saint-Martin is contrasting three French towns in which he has spent much of his life, and he calls Strasburg his Paradise; Amboise, his native place, his Inferno; and Paris his Purgatory. He proceeds:—"In my Paradise I could speak and hear spoken truths that are dear to me; in my Inferno I could not speak of those or hear them spoken about, because that which concerned intellectual matters did not there find a home; in my Purgatory I could not speak of these things, and I only heard them discussed cross-wise; but it is certainly better to hear them spoken of cross-wise or indifferently rather than not at all: so when I could not be in my Paradise I stayed in my Purgatory."

In 1797 Saint-Martin writes concerning the events of those stirring days which France has endured:—"I cannot deny the special watching over me of Providence during this disastrous time; for, in the first place, there were many reasons for suspicion and arrest for one in my situation, civil, pecuniary, literary, social, etc., and yet I have been quits with an order once given to arrest me, which did not reach me till a month after the fall of Robespierre, who issued it, and which was cancelled before it could be executed. Moreover, I have three times passed through every crisis; I lived a whole year on the borders of La Vendée, and you will not be a little surprised when I tell you that during these infernal agitations, when I went everywhere just like anybody else, things have been so ordered on high that since the Revolution I have literally not heard the report of a cannon, except those which were lately fired here to announce peace with the Emperor of Austria." This is the last extract that I make from this correspondence. Saint-Martin had always hoped to visit Liebisdorf, and the arrangements for meeting were often discussed, but unfortunately never carried out. Liebisdorf, knowing that Saint-Martin was often straitened in resources, in a very delicate manner sent him the wherewithal for the expenses of travelling. Saint-Martin, fearing to wound his susceptibilities, kept the money in hand, but at an opportune moment returned it, and when in turn Liebisdorf was looking around for funds Saint-Martin sent him the few pieces of silver-ware that he still possessed. Shortly before Liebisdorf's death a coolness appears to have arisen between the two friends, and this had not disappeared when Liebisdorf passed away. What caused this dissension is not known, as the letters of the concluding period of Liebisdorf's life appear to be missing, but it was a great source of anguish to Saint-Martin, for he felt that he had lost in circumstances of great bitterness the best friend that he had ever possessed. We have now almost arrived at the concluding years of Saint-Martin's career. During this period we have seen him passing peaceably through an epoch which might well have strained the nerves of any man, but which, as we have seen, he endured with that calm and philosophical fortitude which characterised him in his later years. He has endured want, cold, and fatigue; he has been under rigid police surveillance; one of his works—and this is a fact that I have hitherto forgotten to mention—has been condemned by the Spanish Inquisition, as being an attack on the Divinity of God and a danger to the well-being of governments; and yet he has preserved an imperturbable and astonishing calmness. He has not rebelled against the new order of things; he has endeavoured to adapt himself to the new conditions, a difficult task for one whose instincts and whose traditions were so wrapt up in the delicate atmosphere of the *vieille noblesse*, but one performed with alacrity and wholeheartedness. He has shown a spirit of self-sacrifice, which has largely resulted from a life of self-abnegation and individual piety. Here you have the full man, matured and fashioned in accord with the deepest instincts of his own spiritual nature. And as such we leave him while we rapidly pass over some incidents which have been overlooked in our epistolary presentment.

I have alluded to Saint-Martin's great desire to have an interview with Voltaire through the kind offices of the Marechal de Richelieu. The Marechal had spoken to Voltaire about Saint-Martin's first published work, *Des Erreurs et de la Vérité.* In order to facilitate an interview, Voltaire said, in reply to this, that he would read the volume, but added these words: "I do not know the work, but if it is good, the first part" (that treating of errors) "ought to consist of fifty folio volumes, and the second part" (that treating of the truth) "might be written on half a sheet of paper." Voltaire did actually refuse to see Saint-Martin, but time brought better counsels. Unfortunately, the great man died just at the time when the interview was to take place.

With respect to the interview with Chateaubriand we have the testimonies both of Saint-Martin and of the illustrious author of the *Genie du Christianisme.* Chateaubriand's account is as follows:—"I arrived at the meeting place at six o'clock; the heavenly philosopher was already there. M. de Saint-Martin, who generally has the most charming manners, only delivered himself of a few oracular words. Neveu [this was an artist of the Polytechnic School, who had arranged the interview] replied with some brief phrases . . . I did not say a word . . . M. de Saint-Martin, gradually growing excited, began to speak in the manner of an archangel; the more he spoke, the more obscure became his language. . . . For six mortal hours I listened and was not a whit the wiser. At midnight the visionary jumped up suddenly; I thought the Spirit had descended upon him, but he only declared that he was exhausted. He took up his hat and departed." Saint-Martin's account of the meeting is as follows:—"I have had an interview with M. de Chateaubriand at a dinner specially arranged for the purpose at the house of M. Neveu. I should have benefited greatly if I had known this man earlier in life. He is the only honest man of letters that I have met during the whole of my existence. And the pity of it is that I only enjoyed his conversation during the meal; for directly afterwards he had a visit which rendered him dumb for the rest of the evening." It is only fair to the memory of Chateaubriand to say that he wrote at a later period these words:—"Remorse has come upon me; I have spoken of M. de Saint-Martin with a mocking spirit; I repent that I have done so. M. de Saint-Martin was, it must be confessed, a man of great merit, of noble and independent character. When his ideas could be understood they were of a high order and superior nature." This was written four years after the death of Saint-Martin; a rather tardy acknowledgment of an error in judgment.

In the third volume of the English translation of the *Life of Jung Stilling* there is a reference to Saint-Martin in a letter written to Stilling by a certain Countess. The noble lady writes: "As it might be interesting to brother Jung to learn something more of the celebrated but so frequently misunderstood Saint-Martin, I will subjoin a few particulars respecting him. In the year 1785 I was at Paris at the same time as the late Duchess of Wurtemburg and her son, Prince Eugene. The latter made me acquainted with Saint-Martin. I found him a man of about thirty years of age, of a friendly, open, pleasing countenance, in blooming health, cheerful and active, but modest and gentle." (The Countess was about twelve years wrong in her calculation as to age, but probably she wished to convey an impression of Saint-Martin's youthful appearance.) However, to continue: "In his youthful years his father, a strict old country nobleman, would have had him join the army; but the young man had accidentally become acquainted with an aged individual, whose name he did not mention to me, who instructed him in many things, left him at his decease important documents, and became the cause of his thorough awakening. From that time he believed himself destined to lead souls to the Saviour, refused to enter into military service, and by this means enraged his father against him so violently that he entirely renounced him." (You will notice in this recital of Saint-Martin's doings how deftly truth and fiction are interwoven. This lady has evidently an eye for the romantic aspect of things, and is somewhat heedless as to absolute veracity.) She proceeds, in the same high-flown style: "After that he went for a long time from place to place, and wrote his works, *Des*

Erreurs et de la Vérité and *Dieu, l'Homme, et la Nature*, etc., etc., which he begged me never to read because he had written them only for those who had erred in a peculiar manner from the truth, and therefore, as he thought, must be brought back again to the truth in a mystic way, one which is little known. He lived upon a small sum of money, for he said he thought himself rich when he had a 'louis d'or' in his pocket . . . His friends often begged him to live with them, but he always refused, in order that he might the better pursue his vocation." I have quoted from this letter because it shows the slipshod way in which the qualities of a celebrated man are summarised, and instructs us as to the danger of hasty judgment.

Turning once more to Saint-Martin's Masonic activities, we may remark that in a monograph published at Moscow in 1867 it is definitely stated that Prince Alexis Borisowitz Galitzine was initiated by Saint-Martin in Switzerland between the years 1770 and 1780. This seems a sufficiently long period to venture upon as a date. Papus, in his *Life of Saint-Martin* states that Saint-Martin was an initiatory agent in the case of many individuals, and instances as cases in point the intitiations of one Gilbert, a pupil of Fabre d'Olivet, and M. de Chaptal, a pupil of Saint-Martin, and the grandfather of Delaage. Henri Delaage, an occultist of modest pretensions, is referred to in a letter which was written to Papus by the eminent astronomer, Flammarion, in 1899. In this epistle he says: "I have had a considerable intimacy with Delaage from 1860 to 1870, and I remember well that he has often spoken to me of his grandfather, Chaptal, the Minister, and of Saint-Martin, the Unknown Philosopher, whom his grandfather knew well." Nothing is brought forward as to any initiation, but we are assured that the modesty of Delaage prevented him from making mention of any such event in his published works.

In a certain passage to be found in Saint-Martin's *Portrait Historique* we find that he had a premonition of his approaching dissolution. He says: "In the summer of 1803 I made a little journey to Amboise, where I was pleased to renew acquaintance with several good friends. I had found some also at Orleans; but I had not yet been conscious of how much I should desire and how much I should have need of their friendship. Before my departure I had some warnings of a physical enemy who, according to all appearance, is the one who will carry me off, as he did in the case of my father. But I do not afflict myself, neither do I complain. My corporeal and spiritual life have been too well taken care of by Providence for me to have any occasion to complain. I can only render actions of grace and ask this same Providence to aid me in holding myself in readiness for my last summons." A. M. Gence, who wrote an "Historic Notice" of Saint-Martin for the *Biographie Universelle*, also gives testimony as to Saint-Martin's premonition of his end. He says: "He seemed to have a presentiment of his end. A conversation which he had wished to have with a profound mathematician on the science of numbers was brought about through the medium of the writer of this notice, with M. de Rossel. At its conclusion Saint-Martin said: 'I feel that I am going—Providence may call me—I am ready. The germs which I have endeavoured to sow will fructify. I leave to-morrow for the country residence of one of my friends. I thank Heaven for having granted the last favour I had to ask.' He then bade adieu to M. de Rossel, and pressed both our hands." Continuing, we have an account from the same pen of his actual death in these words:—"The following day he went to the country seat of Count Laroche at Aunay. After a slight repast, when he had retired to his chamber, he had an attack of apoplexy. Although his tongue was not free, he was able to make himself understood by his friends, who collected round him. Feeling that all human aid was useless, he exhorted those around him to place their trust in Providence and live together like brethren in Gospel love. He then prayed in silence, and departed without a struggle and without pain on the thirteenth of October, 1803."

So passed away, in the sixty-first year of his age, a man who was honest to a degree, and who may be said to have served his generation faithfully and

well. Of his latter years we have no connected record, and he would seem to have lived in quiet retirement during that time. In the presence of the serenity and sublime calm of his deathbed scene, it will not be out of place to take our farewell of this exalted spirit by remembering just a few things that he said about death. I draw these at haphazard from his published works. In *L'Esprit des Choses* we are told that "the wise man who is convinced that this world is only a translation of the unseen world must rejoice and not grieve when the time comes to make acquaintance with the original, because it is a general truth that originals are preferable to translations." In the *Tableau Naturel* we have these two passages:—"Death is merely a quitting of an appearance, that is to say, of the body, or rather it is relinquishing a nothingness. There is an illusion the less between man and truth. Ordinary men believe that they are afraid of death, but it is life of which they are in dread." "The moment of death is the matrix of the future man, and in the same way that corporeal beings bear and conserve on this earth the form, sex, and other signs which they have drawn from the womb of the mother, so will man carry into another sphere the plan, structure, and manner of being which he has fixed for himself here below." And, lastly, in the Posthumous Works, we may read these words:—"Men who live only on the surface have only little afflictions and trivial enjoyments; they are only images of men. Hence it is necessary that their life shall recommence when they shall have quitted this visible and apparent region, because they have failed to live during the period when they were passing through it, and it is this prolongation of time which will be their torment, because the combination of their substances will not be in so sweet and harmonious a measure as in this world, where everything is in the proportions of mercy and salvation."

As to the writings of Saint-Martin, some of the titles of his books have already been mentioned, but it is now time to add some more details which will particularise them. In any description of their contents, their manner of being written, or their ultimate aim, it will be as well, where it can be done, to give you the words of the writer. It has been our endeavour throughout to keep in close contact with our Brother, and there seems to be no reason to depart from that practice.

In 1775 Saint-Martin published his principal work, *Des Erreurs et de la Verité*, at Lyons. The full title of the work was "Of Errors and of Truth, or Men Recalled to the Universal Principle of Knowledge. In which work the uncertainty and incessant mistakes of their researches are made plain to inquirers, and the True Road is indicated for the acquisition of physical evidence on the origin of Good and Evil, on Man, on Nature, material, immaterial, and sacred, on the Basis of Political Governments, on Civil and Criminal Jurisprudence, on Sciences, Languages, and Arts." There appeared in 1795 a book which was called "Sequel to Errors and Truth, or Development of the Book of Men Recalled to the Universal Principle of Knowledge, by an Unknown Philosopher." This was the work of an unknown author, and it was denounced by Saint-Martin as being stained with the very vice of the false system which he combated. In 1789 there appeared yet another work by an unknown hand. This was entitled "A Key of Errors and of Truth, or Men recalled to the Universal Principle of Reason, by a Known Locksmith." The copy that I possess of this work of Saint-Martin has been carefully annotated in the most minute handwriting by some diligent scribe, and on the title-page is written: "By M. de Saint-Martin, 'ex-militaire,' who died at Aunay near Paris, in 1804." This gives us a date a year later than the one usually stated as being Saint-Martin's death-year. There is further written on this page: "It is of this book that Voltaire said, in his letter to d'Alembert, written on Oct: 22, 1776, 'Never has been printed anything more absurd, more obscure, more foolish, and more idiotic.'" Saint-Martin tells us that this so severely-criticised work was written at Lyons. He says: "I wrote it for want of something to do and because I was angry with the philosophers. I was ashamed to read in the works of Boulanger that religions had only had their birth in the terrors occasioned by

the catastrophes of nature. I composed this work about the year 1774 in four months. I did it whilst sitting by the kitchen fire, for there was no other place where I could sit and warm myself. I remember that one day the pot of soup was upset over my foot, and it burned me sufficiently badly." M. Matter, the historian of Saint-Martin, remarks that anyone reading this book would think that he was in an atmosphere of Gnosticism, and he adds that the writer shows himself more a disciple of the Orient than of our Western system. Many have thought that imbedded in this book are many of the precepts and much of the teaching of Martinez. It is noteworthy that in all Saint-Martin's works there is an almost direct abstention from any allusion to Masonry. It may be hinted at by implication, even its underlying truths may be used as foundations for arguments, but there is no direct reference, so far as my knowledge of the subject extends.

In 1782 there appeared two volumes under the title of "A Natural Picture of the relations that exist between God, Man, and the Universe." Saint-Martin says: "It is at Paris, partly at the house of Mdme. de Lusignan, at the Luxembourg, and partly at the residence of Mdlle. de la Croix, that I have written the *Tableau Natural*, at the invitation of certain friends." This work may be said, by its somewhat perplexing mysticism and use of terms belonging to the Martinez system, to fall definitely into that period of Saint-Martin's existence.

Another work, *The New Man*, was written under the guidance and direct inspiration of Silferhielm, the nephew of Swedenborg, who, you will remember, came in contact with Saint-Martin at Strasburg. This was published in 1792. It is said that Saint-Martin declared that if at this juncture he had been acquainted with the works of Boehme the book would have taken on quite a different complexion. This work was soon followed by another one, entitled *Behold the Man.* This was said to be a re-presentation of the former work in a popular form, and it is supposed that it was written for the special benefit of the Duchesse de Bourbon.

Another work, *The Man of Desire*, published at Lyons in 1790, was reviewed and frequently reprinted. Saint-Martin tells us that he wrote this work at the instigation of the religious philosopher, Thieman, during his stay at Strasburg and at London. Lavater, a clergyman at Zurich, highly praised this work as one of the books he had most liked, though he acknowledges he could not penetrate to its grounds of doctrine. Liebisdorf considered it as rich in luminous thoughts.

Regarding the next work, *Le Ministere de l'Homme Esprit*, Saint-Martin says: "Towards the end of 1802 I published this work. Although it is certainly clearer than my other books, it is too distant from human ideas to have any chance of success. I have often felt, in writing it, that what I was doing was as if I were to go and play on my violin waltzes and country dances in the cemetery of Montmartre, where, whatever the prowess of my bow, the corpses would pay but little attention and certainly would not join in the merry round." This book has been translated by the Edward Burton Penny previously mentioned, under the title, "Man, His True Nature and Ministry." The translator, in his preface, says: "The way through Saint-Martin's books is hard enough—not only from the nature of the regions they penetrate, but because he was less careful in expressing himself than perhaps he might have been: he thought more of the matter than of the manner; more of the moral conquest, and settlement in these regions, than of the construction of his sentences, or of the lines of his map." I present you with two short quotations from this work. The first is applicable to all men; the second is peculiarly appropriate to those who are Masons, especially in connection with the Mark Degree. They run thus:—"Oh! if mankind knew what marriage really was, how they would at once desire it exceedingly, and fear it! for it is possible for a man to become divine again through marriage, or to go through it to perdition." Saint-Martin did not take the risk; he preferred to be a free agent. The other passage tells us that "Man's work requires new men. Those who are not so will try

in vain to form part of the building; when such stones came to be presented for their places, they would be found wanting in the required dimensions, or in finish, and be sent back to the workshop till they were fit to be used."

Regarding another work, Saint-Martin writes that he is about to publish a volume called *L'Esprit des Choses.* "It is," he says, "in two volumes, making in all 675 pages of close type. Its contents are really a series of sketches, ranging over a wide area, since it embraces the universality of things physical and scientific as well as spiritual and divine, and it has been impossible for me to compress within narrow compass any exhaustive survey. In fact the work is a sort of gleaning that I have made amongst the vast materials with which my portfolios are stuffed, as it has been my custom to note down everything of which I have had cognisance." The varied character of this composition may be fairly gauged when I state that in it may be found discussions on dancing and on the properties of coffee.

I have now mentioned Saint-Martin's principal works. I would add to these his Posthumous Works as containing valuable and varied material, including his *Portrait Historique.* He also translated several of Boehme's works, and there were various Essays which he wrote from time to time and a notable pamphlet on the French Revolution.

There remains to be mentioned a work which is certainly curious and to which I give a separate place, as in style and conception it is quite removed from the kind of writing that we expect from Saint-Martin. It reveals a sense of humour which is not present in his other works, and it likewise presents the extraordinary and whimsical adventures therein recorded with a sly cynicism and a dig at human foibles which is not only amusing but enlightening. The full and high-sounding title of this work is as follows:—"The Crocodile, or the War of Good and Evil which took place during the reign of Louis XV. An Epico-Magical Poem in 102 cantos, comprising long voyages free from mortal accidents, a little love without its madness, great battles devoid of bloodshed, instruction apart from pedantry, and seeing that it includes both prose and verse, it is therefore neither in verse nor prose. The Posthumous Work of a Lover of Secret Things." This was published in 1809. It was described as a posthumous work and a new pseudonym was attached so that the author should at all events for the time escape identification. The reason why this work was written is as curious as the work itself. It really contains as its main thesis an essay which was written by Saint-Martin for a competition arranged by the French Institute. Saint-Martin was not the successful candidate, and he therefore published his Essay, enshrining it in this weird setting, which really pokes fun at every turn at the *savants* and academical bodies of France. M. Matter says: "Who to-day reads 'The Crocodile,' and who interests himself in knowing what can be found in the work?" He thus rather strives to pour contempt on this work, though he confesses that therein may be found abundance of romantic imagination and a marvellous command of language. I cannot say that I am in accord with M. Matter's dictum, as to my mind it is a work quite worth perusing, and to one who can see beneath the surface it will afford a considerable amount of enjoyment. It is quite impossible to enter into any detailed account of the action of the story; I can only give you some brief particulars of those who figure in it and one or two quotations from it. Amongst the principal characters are Eleazar, a Jew, and this is Martinez under a thin disguise; Mdme. Jof, who represents in herself the Swedenborgian doctrine; Sedir, an honest and faithful magistrate, generally supposed to represent Saint-Martin; Rachel, the daughter of Eleazar; and a stout woman and a tall thin man, whose counterparts may, I fancy, be found in the immediate *entourage* of the Royal circle. Eleazar is represented as possessing some marvellous powder made from a vegetable compound. This powder was carried in a small gold box shaped like an egg. When he wished to know anything he only had to sniff this powder seven times. Its essence then penetrated his brain and he was conscious immediately of what he ought to do, what was the character of the people surrounding him, and even what were their hidden intentions.

Of this powder prodigious use is made, with the most astonishing results. There is a long description of a buried city to which is given the name of "Atalante." One of the visitors to this city, in relating its wonders to an intent auditory, says: "I approach, I see a temple that is dedicated to Truth. I enter, I see a large number of people therein assembled, and appearing to listen to a man who was seated in a sort of pulpit and who addressed them . . . The extraordinary thing was that, independently of the actual words uttered by the orator, I could see in his inside what appeared to be like the germs of words, and these had a sense entirely contradictory to those which were issuing from his mouth. In proportion as the words that he spoke were well-formed, wise, and edifying, so were these others impious, extravagant, and blasphematory, so that I could not doubt that this orator was audaciously imposing on his audience and that he did not believe a word of what he was saying." As the narrator proceeds through the city he comes to the Temple of Memory, and here he says: "I saw in the cellars some people in long robes teaching birds in cages to pronounce famous names, and a young girl said: 'These are philosophers who have not been able themselves to obtain places in the temple of immortality, and who have preferred to be made mention of rather than to remain unknown and unheard.'" In an account of the report of the scientific commission to the Academy the orator is made to ask this question: "Must we admit, as a well-known professor will one day teach us, that the kings of Egypt caused the Pyramids to be constructed so that they might sit in their shade and make use of them as parasols?" I am prone to linger longer over these charming absurdities, but time does not allow of such dalliance.

I cannot conclude this sketchy account of the life of Saint-Martin without saying a word as to the Martinist Order, usually associated with his name. A ritual of the Order was published in Paris in the year 1913. In the preface to this we are informed that "several Lodges of *Philosophes Inconnus* were founded by Martinez de Pasqually and his disciple, Saint-Martin: the chief seat of Martinisme was at Lyons in the Lodge of *Les Chevaliers Bienfaisants de la Cité Sainte*. The study of the works of Saint-Martin is specially recommended to the members of the Order and to every initiate. In the general rules we have this statement: "The Order, being based on the doctrine of the Kabbalah which proclaims perfect equality between man and woman, admits the election of woman as a member." In the section entitled "Functions of the Officers," we read: "The Unknown Philosopher is the chief luminary of the Lodge; the members owe to him the greatest respect and obedience; he is irreprehensible in his functions, and is not subject to election." As to the grades of the Order, we are told that every associate who is a candidate for initiation must be acquainted with the words, the teachings, the adaptations and the password of the Masonic degrees of Apprentice, Fellow-Craft, and Master-Mason, and must also possess the key to the Hiramic legend. In the Second Degree, the *Frère Expert* says to the candidate: "We read in the Scriptures that Solomon placed before the entrance to the Temple two pillars of brass; the one was called Jachin, and the other Boaz. These signify Strength and Weakness in opposition. They also represented Man and Woman, Reason and Faith, Authority and Liberty, Right and Duty, Cain and Abel. They were the pillars of the intellectual and moral world." In the Third Degree, the Unknown Philosopher, placing his hands on the head of the candidate, says: "In testimony of the high consideration that I have for your zeal as a Martinist, I recognise you, in the name of our Venerable Master, Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin, as an Unknown Superior of the Order. I shall proceed to communicate to you the signs, words, and grips of this honourable Degree." In the ritual for the consecration of a Lodge the following petition is recited:—"O Martinez de Pasqually, thou who hast founded our Order with the aid of the living Principles of the Invisible, protect this Lodge open to the glory of the Great Architect of the Universe, and give us the help of the secret forces of the Order in the Astral Plane." Papus tells us that Martinisme opens certain of its reunions

to intelligent Masons, especially to members of the Rite Ecossais, but only when they have attained to the 18th degree in the Rose-Croix, and he affirms that present-day Martinists act in the same manner as did their predecessors in the time of Willermoz and Saint-Martin.

In conclusion, I would like to say that if there is any one lesson that emerges clear and distinct from a study of the life and works of Saint-Martin it is that of detachment from earthly things when they begin to obscure the real meanings which these should symbolise. I fear that in Masonry, as in many other things, we are too apt to become wedded to externals which in themselves are as nothing when divested of their inner and spiritual meaning. The true essence and meaning of Masonry can only be grasped intellectually, and that after much study and perseverance. This is constantly urged upon candidates in the course of our ritual, but it becomes too often a dead letter rather than a living truth. I am proud always to remember that this Lodge was the pioneer in the direction of intellectualism in Masonry. Since its foundation, many like associations have sprung into being with varying success, but one must always regard this as the *fons et origo* of Masonic research. As to our consideration of Saint-Martin, I have introduced this subject as one which might be likely to stimulate interest and open out new paths interesting and pleasant to pursue. The preparation of this paper has given me pure delight—I can only thank you all for so patient a hearing.

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Bro. W. W. Covey-Crump said:—

The early history of Freemasonry in France is still obscure in parts, and, therefore, is proportionately interesting to students. Our Bro. de Lafontaine's paper is valuable because it provides a lucid picture of the activities (Masonic and consequent) of Saint-Martin and, incidentally, also of two of his contemporaries, Pasqually and Mesmer. Being historical in scope, and unbiassed in style, it has necessarily been restricted to facts which for the most part are well-known and authenticated. For Saint-Martin was not a nomad or an elusive personality. As he knew most people of importance in his time, so they knew him familiarly even whilst they good-naturedly humoured his foible of literary anonymity. The correspondence between Saint-Martin and both Willermoz and Liebisdorf has been critically and exhaustively searched by Bro. de Lafontaine; a labour for which I am sure we shall be grateful, convinced that all the evidence from that quarter has been sifted, even though one would fain know more about

the influence derived by Saint-Martin from the Abbés Pernety and Fournie, as well as from the Swedish seer.

Whatever views we may entertain individually as to the curious conception of Masonic principles which was evinced by such prominent French Masons as Pasqually, Mesmer, Grasse-Tilly, Savalettes de Lange, Saint-Martin and Cambaceres, at all events Bro. de Lafontaine disarms our criticism by his genuinely sympathetic tone towards mysticism, and even those other and less laudable pursuits—hypnotism, magic, empirical theurgy and similar vagaries—for which things' sake Masonry was exploited by many occultist alumni of the Avignon *Académie*, as traced by our Bro. Freke Gould. It is hard to believe that from such weird antecedents has our Rose Croix ceremony been evolved.

Bro. B. TELEPNEFF said:—

In his excellent paper Bro. de Lafontaine refers to the Empress Catherine's literary activities directed against the so-called 'Martinists' in Russia. May I add a few words to make his point still more illuminating?

Russian Freemasonry attained its culminating development in the second half of the eighteenth century under the leadership of Christian Mystics who styled themselves Rosicrucians and professed obedience to a Rosicrucian Order then established in Germany. Some of their leaders, at an early period of their activities, became infatuated with St. Martin's book *Des Erreurs et de la Vérité*; the book was translated into Russian and greatly commented upon, so much so that the name of St. Martin remained in the public mind associated with all Rosicrucians and even with ordinary Masons, although later many of them disclaimed any connection with 'Martinism' and even expressed disappointment with its doctrines. However wrongly, the name of 'Martinists' stuck to them.

The Empress Catherine turned against 'Martinists' for a variety of reasons. The chief ground for her enmity was their involuntary association with her enemies: abroad—with their Rosicrucian chiefs at the Court of the King of Prussia, with whom the Empress was at variance; at home—with the heir-apparent, the Grand Duke Paul, her open enemy. Moreover, the Rosicrucian teaching of Christian mysticism and occult lore, coupled with the doctrine of continual self-improvement, did not appeal either to Catherine's sceptical mind or to the loose morals of her Court. Thus the Empress decided to stop Rosicrucian activities, first by holding them up to ridicule in her literary works.

Her first attack consisted of a small pamphlet called *Secrets of the Anti-Humbug Society, discovered by one who is not a member* (edited in 1780). Under 'humbug' is, of course, understood 'Masonry.' "The Society," says the author, "was founded just at that time when common sense made its appearance." The Ritual of Initiation and Catechism, of the Anti-Humbug Society, are explained as contrasts to those absurdities in which the Humbug Society or Masonry was supposed to indulge.

"The Lodge of Initiation," says the author, "must be such a room as in no way resembles a public-house or quack doctor's shop." This obviously refers to Masonic banquets, sometimes immoderate (our ancestors did not discard "the worship of Bacchus after a service to Minerva"), and to some of those Masonic dreamers who believed in the 'universal medicine,' and even tried its preparation according to recipes obtained from different charlatans.

"Flies' legs drawn with chalk, and other toys or mischiefs are forbidden for ever." This relates to Masonic drawings in chalk on the floor of their Lodge-rooms, which in the eighteenth century were replaced by Tracing Boards.

"The candidate is conducted into the room with open eyes, and properly dressed, as it is considered to be impolite and indecent to be naked in an honourable company."

The Master of the Lodge further explains to the Candidate: "Know, Sir, that our society does not send its money to foreigners;[1] we dine together in friendship and gaiety . . . Never forget that human common-sense is against dreamy visions and intelligence against fictions." This very well expresses Catherine's suspicions in regard to foreign chiefs of Russian Rosicrucians, and illustrates the rationalistic bent of her mind.

After the Ceremony of Reception follows the Catechism of which the following extracts will suffice:—

Question: For what game are children blindfolded?
Answer: Blind man's buff.

Question: Is this game played only by children?
Answer: By children and also by those who are grown-up.

Question: Who are those grown-up children whom you mean?
Answer: Those who incessantly deceive others and are often deceived themselves.

Question: What is commonly called apeing?
Answer: Extraordinary and strange movements. [Meaning Masonic signs and tokens.]

It is obvious that Catherine's first attack on Masonry could not and did not succeed. Whilst holding up to ridicule some of its externals and calling its adherents apes and deceivers, the Empress did not touch its real allegories and doctrines. In fact, Catherine knew very little about the realities of the Masonic and Rosicrucian movement: not only did she apparently mix up Claude de Saint-Martin with Martinez Pasqually, but she also mixed up Masons with the German Illuminati, and called them 'Cagliostro's disciples.' She was better acquainted with the aberrations of some Mystical visionaries and dreamers who were to be found among Russian Masons and Rosicrucians, as they could be found practically everywhere in those days of the creation of spurious Masonic degrees and of Masonic charlatanism. Thus, Catherine's next attack did not prove more successful. It took the form of three comedies, namely, *The Deceiver*, *The Deceived One*[2] (both belong to the year 1785), and *Shaman*[3] *from Siberia* (1786). The Empress herself stated that the first represented Cagliostro, and the second those who were deceived by him, and that the subject of the third was found in an article on Theosophists in the French Encyclopædia. Hence they had little to do with real Masons, and could not affect much either their opinions or those of the general public. The Empress herself acknowledged it in one of her letters: "I myself like very much *Shaman from Siberia*, but am afraid that it will correct no one. Absurdities are hard to fight, and those mentioned in that comedy have become fashionable." The style of all three comedies is rather heavy, and plots are completely artificial. Their success, of which the Empress boasts, must be attributed to the influence exercised by their august author and to the generally poor condition of the Russian stage repertoire of those days.

The hero of the comedy *The Deceiver* constantly speaks mysterious absurdities, holds conversations with spirits, and is engaged in the process of transmutation of base metals into gold; for this purpose The Deceiver (who, as we know, represents Cagliostro) cunningly obtains from his well-to-do friend real gold and jewels, and then disappears. In the end he is caught and delivered to the police. However, there are in this comedy some allusions more characteristic of the state of Russian 'Martinism' than in the two other pieces. The Deceiver's tricked friend represents a Martinist. His wife is afraid he is going mad; when asked if he has some ailment, she replies: "He is rejoicing over every ailment, both of his own and of other people . . . he says

[1] The Rosicrucian Chiefs in Germany.
[2] This is the correct translation.
[3] A local expression for a wizard.

sickness is the best possible state." This alludes to a certain ascetism and subjugation of bodily wants preached and practiced by some Russian Martinists. She continues: "Last week a watch was lost and a snuff-box; when he was told, he smiled, and said, 'It is well, they will prove useful to somebody.' He flees from what we think is good, gay, agreeable; both from men and business." This is again very characteristic of practices advocated by adherents of Russian Martinism—charity, meekness, forgiveness, detachment from earthly goods, meditations, control of thoughts through contemplations, etc. She relates further: "This began after his last holidays: during his journey he met a man whom he brought here; with him he sits behind closed doors, and other persons little known are conducted to him." This probably refers to Rosicrucian meetings in private, "in secrecy and concealment," as they used to say. The person who evidently represents the Empress's views describes the Martinist in the following terms: "I consider him to be deceived . . . He tries to discover things which, it is by all known, it is impossible to discover . . . He seems to wander in his mind, for he boils gold and jewels, prepares metals from dew and nobody knows what not from herbs; besides he tries to communicate with invisible spirits by means . . . at which intelligent people of old and present days are laughing . . . His head has been turned by ancient Kabalistic nonsense; to study some cyphers he has got a Jewish teacher whom he considers to be a very great expert . . . this poor Jew is secretly dealing in the rag-market." All this is an echo from Rosicrucian studies in Alchemy and the Kabala. The Martinist's daughter is like her father; her grand-mother narrates: "My grand-daughter came into my room, saw a glass with flowers on a table before me; she began to kiss the leaves. I asked her why, and she replied that a small spirit inhabits every leaf! . . . so small that many thousands of them may be put on a pin's head! . . . I nearly died from fright . . ." Another interesting statement concerning the Martinists in Russia occurs further: "They have a secret intention of opening philanthropic institutions such as schools, hospitals, etc., and for this purpose they try to attract rich people." Russian Rosicrucians did establish schools, hospitals, public libraries, and, besides, printed books and periodicals. Being ever anxious to spread patriotic and religious enlightenment, their philanthropic activities were varied, and on an unexampled scale; only they did not hide these activities or intentions, as the Empress suggests.

The Shaman or Wizard from Siberia induced a merchant's widow to part with some money, promising to produce her deceased husband alive; for that purpose he brought to her twice two bearded men specially attired, and in her fear the widow took them for her departed man. The wizard ended by getting into the hands of the police.

The Empress's literary attacks being far from successful, though imitated by some other writers, Catherine applied other more efficient means always at the disposal of an autocratic ruler, and the open activities of the Martinists were stopped. Yet, "in secrecy and concealment," they have continued from Catherine's days till the present time; although prohibited by Bolshevists, gatherings on the same Martinist or Rosicrucian lines apparently are still being held in Russia. In the meantime the Masonic movement has spread abroad among Russian refugees, mostly of high intellectual standing; a few Lodges have been formed and new ones are in process of formation on the Continent under various and, unfortunately, sometimes undesirable obediences. It is hoped that it may be possible to form an Anglo-Russian Lodge at no distant date under the Grand Lodge of England, and this may prove the nucleus for the revival of English Masonry among Russians.

[Books consulted: A. N. Puipin, *Russian Masonry*. Longinov, *Novikov and Moscow*. Martinists, *Empress Catherine's Works*.]

Bro. H. C. de Lafontaine *writes as follows*, in reply:—

I value Bro. Covey Crump's kindly and courteous appreciation. There is a great deal of matter concerning Saint Martin's relations with notable people of the period which could not be included in the paper, otherwise it would have reached unwieldy proportions. I, therefore, think that our Brother is too generous in his estimate that all evidence from the letters of Willermoz and Liebisdorf has been brought to light and exhausted. I was compelled by force of circumstances to confine myself to judicious selection. To enter into the question of the influence exercised by Pernety and Fournie would again lead to diffuseness. One can only say here briefly that though Fournie and Saint Martin were undoubtedly both pupils of Martinez, it is doubtful whether they ever became more than passing acquaintances. I should fancy that the difference between the personalities of the two men would not lead to any 'rapprochement' nor to any permanent influence on either side. The illuminism of Avignon and the teachings of Swedenborg certainly influenced Saint Martin at one period of his career, and may have prepared him in measure for the fuller light that he found in the writings of Boehme. I am glad that my sympathetic tone towards mysticism disarms criticism—otherwise I should have to write another paper to endeavour to show what place such weird antecedents as hypnotism, etc., have had, if any, in the evolution of the Rose Croix ceremony. It is interesting to reflect that all these *weird* things are with us to-day in greater force than even in the time of Saint Martin. A more crazy age than the present never existed. At least so it seems to me.

The communication made by Bro. Telepneff regarding the attitude of the Empress Catherine towards Masonry and cognate societies is most illuminating, and I rejoice that my paper has induced him to supply us with such valuable material. What he reveals concerning the plays that Catherine wrote, holding up to ridicule the doings of Masons, whets one's appetite for further information, and I venture to hope that in some moments of leisure Bro. Telepneff will produce something like a full translation of one or other of these comedies, more especially with regard to *Chamane Sibirshz*. How well Bro. Telepneff sums up the whole situation with regard to Catherine's later attitude towards Freemasonry (which in the early part of her reign she so strongly favoured), and her indiscriminate satirising of its foibles, may be well seen by these words from a Russian writer, Petroff, quoted by Dr. Friedrichs in his book on "Freemasonry in Russia and in Poland":—

> "Several plays were written by Catherine against Freemasonry. In these plays she represents the freemasons as deceivers or as deceived, as people who made gold and sold the elixir of life, as alchemists, and as ghost-seers. When developing the fundamental idea of the comedy entitled the Siberian Conjurer, she wrote to Baron Grimm:—The Siberian Conjurer is that Theosophist who produces all the charlatanry of Paracelsus. In the comedy The Deceiver we have that notorious Cagliostro who transforms small diamonds into large ones, who knows remedies for all diseases, who has the power in himself to conjure up spirits, and to whom but a short time before Alexander of Macedonia had appeared. Thereby, however, she only presents to the world the bad side of Freemasonry basing her narration on stories which were current in society at the time; but its humanitarian and moral side she passes over all together."

FORTWILLIAM
ITS HISTORICAL AND MASONIC ASSOCIATIONS.

A NOTE ON THE EARLY DAYS OF LODGE No. 43, AND SOME INTERESTING POSSESSIONS STILL PRESERVED THEREIN.

BY BRO. G. BERNARD BROOK, F.I.C., M.I.M.M., 3278 E.C.; 43, 884 and 1155 S.C. Prov.Gr. D. of C., Invernessshire.

FORTWILLIAM, as we know it to-day, is, in the main, a pleasure resort. It forms a central market for a wide and sparsely populated district, but is destined to become in the near future, as the result of water-power developments, the largest industrial community in the North of Scotland.

Fortwilliam has had a very interesting and chequered career. Its associations, largely due to its geographical situation at the West End of the Great Glen, being bounded on one side by the waters of Loch Linnhe and on the other by the mighty range of Ben Nevis, have been closely connected with tribal war and rebellion probably from time immemorial. It was here that George Hugh McKay, then commander of King William's troops in Scotland, in 1690 remodelled an earlier fort, giving it the complimentary name of Fortwilliam. This name it goes under to-day: in the intervening period it has enjoyed the appellations of Maryburgh, Gordonburgh, and Duncansburgh.

In 1743, the date at which Fort William Lodge received its Charter, the township consisted of the Fort and a small hamlet, which supplied the troops and the district with food and other necessaries of life. The Lodge was, therefore, closely associated with the Military, as the Minutes show; the stirring times of the '45, as may be expected, are reflected in the history and records of the Lodge itself. Generally, one gathers that the people were not supporters of Prince Charlie, as the abstracts of the Minutes go to show. Nevertheless, the burning of Maryburgh by the then Governor of the Fort in 1746 (himself a Mason and a member of No. 43) suggests that active partisanship had been shown for the Pretender's claims. General Campbell, as will be seen from Plate I., was the first signatory after the Officers at the formation of the Lodge.

The writer of this note is engaged upon the preparation of a History of the Lodge, and, finding the material of such considerable interest and historical value, ventures to submit a small part of the early history to members of the Q.C. Lodge, in the hope that it may interest the Brethren in the South, and particularly Scottish Brethren at home and abroad.

Plate I. shows the Minute relating to the formation of the Lodge in 1743. The first Master, John McLachlan, was probably the Baillie McLachlan who fought for and won the case against the Governor of the Fort (Alex.

Campbell) and so secured the retention of the administration of Maryburgh in the hands of the Civil Magistrates, freeing it from the Dictatorship of the Military Governor.

The first Secretary was George Douglass; he was the Sheriff Substitute at the time, and it was he who in 1752 committed 'James of the Glen' to take his trial at Inverary. He continued Secretary, for about five years, and during the period he was a tower of strength to the Lodge. Of some of the other signatories we have already spoken, but it is, perhaps, worthy of note that, among the eleven original members, two are Ministers. This speaks well for the status of the Lodge in those days, and this obtains, we are glad to say, down to the present time.

The Master, John McLachlan, early fell from the path of rectitude; barely five months after the formation of the Lodge, we find him arraigned for making Masons clandestinely, and ultimately deprived of both the Chair and membership of the Lodge. Plate II. shows the first page of this sad story. It serves to illustrate how keen were brethren of those early days to keep unsullied the honour of the Craft.

In November, 1743, their Charter was granted by the Grand Lodge of Scotland and signed by the then Grand Master Mason, Lord Wemyss. This is still in existence and carefully preserved, as Plate III. shows. A Certificate of Record in the books of Grand Lodge appears on the back of the Charter.

The wording of the Charter does not appear, at any rate, specifically, to confer upon the Lodge the right of meeting elsewhere. This right, however, is claimed and has been exercised, the Charter being deemed "a travelling Charter." On one occasion a Lodge was held in a Corrie on Ben Nevis, as the Minutes show, when five Candidates were initiated.

One is not surprised to find references to the "Rising of the '45." Placed, as Fortwilliam is, twenty miles from and on the direct line of route between Glenfinnan (where Prince Charlie raised his standard), and the Great Glen Albyn leading to Inverness, feelings no doubt ran high in many hearts in the Prince's favour. Whether deterred from declaring themselves, in view of their business relations with the Garrison, or from fear of the armed forces of King William, we can only surmise. The Minutes suggest that the rebellion was by no means based on the *vox populi*. The two Minutes of the Lodge in Plates IV. and V. speak for themselves; the loyalty to King George is confirmed also by the contemporary records of the Town Council of Inverness.

Plate VI. records the first Act of Charity towards the Mother of a deceased Brother. The records of the Lodge show that Fortwilliam 43 has ever been mindful of its duty to the poor and distressed.

Meticulous care was exhibited in keeping the accounts of the Lodge. One cannot but commend to our Secretaries of 1924 the neatness and caligraphy of 1776 as shown in Plate VI.

Coming now to the intrinsic possessions of the Lodge, these are varied in character and particularly interesting. As will have been apparent from the photographs already seen, the Minute Books themselves, with their unbroken record of 180 years, constitute a priceless possession.

In 1904, when the present Masonic Hall was built, there was found in the rafters of the old "Lodge House" a Mort Cloth and an old Flag or Banner. The former was unfortunately destroyed, but the latter is still treasured in the Lodge. It was the work of Brother Lewis Clephen, Painter; the materials were paid for by the Lodge (£2/12/11 stg.), but Bro. Clephen made no charge for the work. The date of the Minute recording the gift to the Lodge was January, 1783.

The Banner measures 8ft. 6in. by 4ft. 6in. It is made of silk, now faded to a dull reseda green. The central design is a representation of the Arms adopted by the English Grand Lodge of the Antients in or before 1764, and

it would be interesting to ascertain if these Arms were used by any other Scottish Lodges. An unusual feature is that the Motto is in Latin—Sanctitas Jehovah. It is generally shown in Hebrew characters or in English—Holiness to the Lord. The supporters are painted in natural colours with silver wings, the extremities being brown. The lettering of the top and bottom scrolls is in gold.

On either side are representations of the jewels and tools of the Mason, with the sun, moon and stars, and the pentalpha, and there is also a curious monogram of intertwined letters WS and AK within a larger letter H. Monograms of a similar form may be found on some Scottish Mark Certificates, and it is possible that R.A. Masonry was being practised in Fortwilliam Lodge at this date, as was the case in other Craft Lodges in Scotland in early days.

It will be agreed that the Banner is of especial interest. The reproduction of it was a labour of love—as will be noticed in Plate VIII. the Banner is very age-worn—and no present member of the Lodge has ever seen the detail of this Banner, as is now shown in the photograph.

The original number of the Fortwilliam Lodge was No. 47. In 1816, due to the suspension of three Lodges, it was altered to 39, and on the restoration of these Lodges to No. 43, its present number. The silk sashes shown in Plate IX. were purchased for the Lodge by Bro. Cameron, Hatter in Edinburgh, in 1818. As will be seen, the sashes are embroidered, "Ft.Wm.L. No. 39."

Reminiscent of days when snuff-taking was looked upon with greater favour than to-day, the beautiful silver-mounted horn and the various necessary implements, including an ivory mallet, and a fur brush for the moustache, will be seen in Plate X.

An old maul, said to have been made out of the roof timber of the old Lodge, is shown in Plate XI., together with a seal; the latter obviously dates from about 1816. An impression of this is shown in Plate XII.

It is a handsome seal and in good preservation. Nothing calls for special comment unless it is the Arch, suggesting, as has already been put forward, the possibility of the R.A. being worked in the Craft Lodge at that date.

Not the least interesting among the possessions of the Lodge is the silver-mounted Oak Cuach (or Celtic drinking cup). As the inscriptions show, this was used to pledge the healths, each the other, of the King of Saxony and William MacKinnon of Fort Augustus in 1844, and later, in 1849, by Waldemar, Prince of Prussia, and the same William MacKinnon. It was presented to Lodge Fortwilliam in 1888 by Bro. A. R. MacRaild. After a good deal of enquiry among the old people of Fort Augustus, the writer learned that William MacKinnon was the worthy host of the Glentarff Inn at Fort Augustus. He was a noted character and a person of considerable importance in the district. No doubt his interesting personality prompted the gift of the Cuach from the King of Saxony when breaking his journey at Fort Augustus in passing through the Caledonian Canal.

The inscriptions read as follows:—

Inside plate:

SCUAB AS E
On the 27th July, 1844.
THE KING OF SAXONY,
and
WILLIAM MACKINNON,
Fort Augustus,
drank to one another out of this
CUACH
AN LA CHI SNACH FHAIC.

Top rim:

Waldemar, Prince of Prussia and William MacKinnon Fort Augustus, drank to each other out of this Cuach on the 10th of August, 1847.

Bottom rim:

Presented to Lodge Fortwilliam No. 43 by Bro. A. R. MacRaild, December 27th, 1888.

The Gaelic inscription round the bottom plate reads SCUAB AS E ("Toss it off" or empty it completely) and AN LA CHI' SNACH FHAIC ("The day you see you do not see"—literally "Good luck to you whatever the circumstances may be"). The writer is indebted to Father Cyril Dieckhoff of St. Benedicts Monastery, Fort Augustus, for the translation. He also kindly contributed the information that "William MacKinnon was, about 1847, Sheriff Clerk Depute at Fort Augustus, and was, in his day, a well-known character of picturesque appearance."

Kinlochleven, Argyll.

16th September, 1924.

The Photographs from which the Illustrations are made were taken by Bro. G. B. Brook.

Festival of the Four Crowned Martyrs.

SATURDAY, 8th NOVEMBER, 1924.

THE Lodge met at Freemasons' Hall at 5 p.m. Present:—Bros. Sir Alfred Robbins, P.G.W., Pres.B.G.P., W.M.; J. Heron Lepper, P.Pr.G.Ins., Antrim, S.W.; John Stokes, J.G.D., J.W.; Ed. Armitage, P.G.D., P.M., Treasurer; W. J. Songhurst, P.G.D., Secretary; Gordon P. G. Hills, P.Pr.G.W., Berks., P.M., D.C.; W. W. Covey-Crump, S.D.; George Norman, P.A.G.D.C., J.D.; Lionel Vibert, P.Dis.G.W., Madras, P.M.; J. P. Simpson, P.A.G.R., P.M.; W. Wonnacott, P.A.G.Sup.W., P.M.; and Rodk. H. Baxter, P.Pr.G.W., E.Lancs., I.P.M.

Also the following members of the Correspondence Circle:—Bros. E. Pickstone, L. A. Engel, Geo. C. Williams, W. Maurice, A. Belton, F. Inskipp, G. H. Ward, Jno. Harrison, F. Bare, Alfred Solomons, H. W. Chetwin, Walter Dewes, L. G. Wearing, M. C. Bridger, P.G.D., Victoria, J. Herbert Bankes, Chas. Ross, W. F. Swan, A. Greenwood Watkins, E. B. Cozens-Brooke, G. W. South, B. A. Fersht, Robt. Colsell, P.A.G.D.C., A. Heiron, J. Walter Hobbs, F. C. Stoate, H. E. Miller, J. Colwin Watson, W. J. D. Roberts, A. E. Biggs, J. W. Rigg, W. J. Williams, Sydney E. de Haas, F. M. Rickard, G.S.B., G. C. Parkhurst Baxter, Robt. L. Randall, C. Gordon Bonser, Thos. F. Jolly, P.Pro.G.M., Western Australia, H. C. de Lafontaine, P.G.D., C. F. Sykes, W. Stubbings, W. Digby Ovens, P.A.G.St.B., H. Thornton Gurner, H. A. Matheson, John I. Moar, Geo. W. Bullamore, R. Wheatley, M. Ustrell, A. D. Higgens, Geo. Pocock, P. Plowman, E. A. Uttley, P.G.D., F. W. Golby, P.A.G.D.C., Max Infeld, R. Cropley Davies, J. W. R. Mason, Prince C. Lobanov-Rostovski, Chas. S. Ayling, W. R. Semken, H. L. Simpson, S. Holland, F. J. Dennett, F. Houghton, W. T. J. Gun, J. F. Vesey Fitz Gerald, W. J. S. Pearse, A. H. Marchant, A. Ludlow, F. M. Athinson, H. Y. Mayell, B. Telepneff, F. A. M. Taylor, and T. M. Lowry.

Also the following Visitors:—Bros. Jas. J. Nolan, W.M., Pegu Lodge No. 3330; H. Overall, I.P.M., King Harold Lodge No. 1327; Harold M. Horace, Albany Lodge No. 151; F. Lace, W.M., Somerset Masters Lodge No. 3746; D. Melliss, Brent Lodge No. 3292; W. A. Humfrey, P.M., King Harold Lodge No. 1327; H. S. Scheleckiavel, St. Leonards Lodge No. 1766; S. Parnell, P.M., Penarth Lodge No. 4113; H. Biggs, Duke of Fife Lodge No. 2345; F. Leyden Sargent, Borough of Islington Lodge No. 2861; O. L. Goldberg, Montefiore Lodge No. 1017; H. C. Connolly, J.W., Horistic Lodge No. 2822; Lord Muskerry, G.L. Ireland; and L. Denny, P.A.G.D.C.

Letters of apology for non-attendance were reported form Bros. S. T. Klein, L.R., P.M.; Rev. H. Poole, I.G.; J. T. Thorp, P.G.D., P.M.; J. E. S. Tuckett, A.G.S.B., P.M.; F. J. W. Crowe, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Cecil Powell, P.G.D., P.M.; Geo. L. Shackles, P.A.G.D.C., P.M.; Wm. Watson, P.A.G.D.C.; and Dr. Wynn Westcott, P.G.D., P.M.

Twenty-five Brethren were admitted to membership of the Correspondence Circle.

W.Bro. John Heron Lepper, Past Provincial Grand Inspector of Antrim, Ireland, the Master-Elect, was presented for Installation and regularly installed in the Chair of the Lodge by R.W.Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins.

The following Brethren were appointed Officers of the Lodge for the ensuing year:—

Bro. John Stokes	S.W.
,, W. W. Covey-Crump	J.W.
,, E. Armitage	Treasurer.
,, W. J. Songhurst	Secretary.
,, Gordon P. G. Hills	D.C.
,, Geo. Norman	S.D.
,, H. Poole	J.D.
,, L. Vibert	I.G.
,, J. H. MacNaughton	Tyler.

The W.M. proposed and it was duly seconded and carried:—"That R.W.Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins, Past Grand Warden, President of the Board of General Purposes, having completed his year of Office as Worshipful Master of the Quatuor Coronati Lodge No. 2076, the thanks of the Brethren be and hereby are tendered to him for his courtesy in the Chair, and his efficient management of the affairs of the Lodge; and that this resolution be suitably engrossed and presented to him."

The Secretary drew attention to the following

EXHIBITS:—

By Bro. Sydney E. de Haas:—

Six Firing Glasses, of Continental (probably German) make.

By Bro. W. W. Covey-Crump:—

A First Degree Tracing Board, measuring 18½ by 9½ inches, carefully drawn and coloured, bearing on the back the signature of Bro. Philip Broadfoot—a prominent member of the Lodge of Reconciliation from 1814 to 1816. At that time Bro. Broadfoot was a P.M. of the Stability Lodge (217) and became (in 1817) one of the founders and the first Preceptor of the Stability Lodge of Instruction. Later on, however, he removed from London to King's Lynn, where he joined the Philanthropic Lodge (107) becoming its Secretary until his death in 1858.

The Tracing Board is the property of this last-named Lodge. It unfortunately bears no date, but in style reminds one somewhat of Cole's engraving. The pillars, however, are drawn uniform in height (about nine diameters in shaft), and the ladder stands upon the Ionic capital of the central one, the Blazing Star being below and the Sun above it. All the customary emblems are present *sed clavis deest*. The pavement is very unusual—consisting of octagons and small lozenges, and the border is of the 'Greek key' pattern with large red tassels depicted at the corners.

A vote of thanks was passed to the Brethren who had kindly lent these objects for exhibition.

The W.M. then delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

IT has become the custom in this Lodge that the newly-installed Master should address the Brethren on that subject of Masonic research to which he has devoted most time, but I fear I could not make a cheerful or refreshing discourse out of the particular matter which was begun in collaboration with Brother Philip Crosslé some years ago and is still unfinished, the attempt to do for Ireland what Lane's *Records* did for England. Still, the collection of such hard, cold facts as evidence of the existence of Lodges at particular places at specified times has led also to the discovery of picturesque episodes in the early period of organized Grand Lodges, and I will offer you now a few cameos illustrating the relations existing between the Grand Lodges of England and Ireland.

A MS. dated May, 1711, and preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, leads us to conclude that certain differences of esoteric import were in existence at that early date, before a Grand Lodge had been formed in either island; but an examination of the early history of both Grand Lodges shows us that these differences were accepted by the Masons of either country as having no effect upon the essentials of Craft Unity and that the travelling Mason might legitimately adopt the variations favoured by the land which was for the moment affording him its protection.

This is made plain to us on finding the Junior Grand Warden of England in 1725, Sir Thomas Prendergast, acting in the same year as Senior Grand Warden of Ireland; Springett Penn, a London Mason, appointed Deputy Grand Master of Munster in 1726; Lord Kingston elected Grand Master of Ireland in 1731 after having filled that high office in England in 1730; and Lord Southwell, one of the leading Irish Masons of the day, a constant visitor at the Grand Lodge of England in 1732, and even acting as deputy for an absent Grand Officer of the latter Constitution. All these points have been elaborated by celebrated Masonic historians and may be taken as granted on the present occasion. It seems worth emphasizing, however, that the three first-mentioned Masons were all made in London Lodges. Thus in the very earliest years of the two oldest Grand Lodges in the world we find fraternal contact established, the best of feeling prevalent, and an apprenticeship in one Constitution succeeded by mastership in the other.

As the main object of this address is to show two centuries of good Masonic understanding between the two countries, it may seem a paradox to have to refer at the very start to the cloud that arose between them when the Mother of Grand Lodges saw fit to recommend to her subordinate Lodges certain drastic changes in the modes of recognition which to not a few conservative members seemed nothing else than a removal of the ancient landmarks: yet even the shadows cast by that cloud serve to make the beams of good will that break through it seem so much the more splendid. I do not intend to make any lengthy allusion here to the split between the old school and the new, resulting in the formation of the Grand Lodge of the Antients and the subsequent divided councils in this country till the memorable and happy Union of 1813. It will be enough to recall to your memory that the Grand Lodge of Ireland never changed its ritual in accordance with the advice issued from London; that Irish Masons in England generally supported the establishment of the rival Grand Lodge in 1751, and that from the year 1758 the Antients were the only

organized Masonic body in England recognized officially in Ireland. I would further recall to you that the Grand Lodge of the Antients took its first and some subsequent Grand Masters from Ireland, and that the names of Blesinton, Mathew and Antrim fill important places in the Masonic history of both countries. All these names are so many buttresses to the official standpoint that Irish Masons could have no fraternal communication with any English Masons save those who adhered to the Grand Lodge of the Antients.

That there was in many instances a real reason for this official standpoint is shown by the case of Bro. George Brooks at Philadelphia in 1757. This Brother was an Irish Mason made in Lodge 183 Belfast, and after emigrating to America he founded with other exiles a Lodge at Philadelphia under a Warrant (No. 4 Provincial) from the original Grand Lodge of England. A Provincial Grand Lodge of the Moderns existed at Philadelphia, and thus an English Warrant was probably more easily obtainable than an Irish one. It may also have carried a greater prestige. At all events, it was sought and obtained. Very soon afterwards it transpired, however, that Brooks and his associates were working a ritual which was not that approved by the Provincial Grand Master. On being called to account, they could not agree to the alterations in working that were demanded of them. They took out, in January, 1758, another Warrant, this time from the Grand Lodge of the Antients, and subsequently established an Antient Provincial Grand Lodge, which in a very few years completely ousted the Modern working and became the direct ancestor of the present Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. (See Sachse, *History of No. 2 Philadelphia.*)

Now if we were to receive all the foregoing evidence of *official* doings at its face value, and take in connection with it the events of 1809, when the labours of the Lodge of Promulgation caused great consternation among old members of leading London Modern Lodges (see Heiron's *Old Dundee*, pages 113-123), we could come to no other conclusion but that the Modern Masons were a heretical sect with whom no decent Antient could exchange the civilities and kindnesses of fraternal communication: but as one's knowledge of the history of the times becomes more precise the less one will be inclined to put forward such extreme cases as all-sufficient illustrations of international Masonic courtesy.

I have emphasized the word "official" in the foregoing, because I have found that *unofficially* Antient and Modern Masons were on occasions ready to offer one another all the kind offices that a common brotherhood demanded.

Thus we get phenomena such as the Earl of Antrim. who, after being initiated while a student at Oxford in a Modern Lodge, became first of all Grand Master of Ireland and then Grand Master of the Antients in England, which yet did not prevent him from subscribing towards the erection of this noble hall, now the most venerable Masonic building in the whole world, which we owe to the liberality and far-sighted ideas of the Grand Lodge of the Moderns.

To take another instance: we find the Grand Lodge of Ireland in May, 1768, electing Lord Blayney, the immediate Past Grand Master of the Moderns, to be Grand Master of Ireland; and though for some reason, we know not what, the position was not accepted by him the incident shows that a willingness to fraternise was not absent, even in those days of sharply-marked divisions.

The explanation simply is this. We can state with certainty that the huge majority of English Lodges never made those alterations in the ritual which the Grand Lodge of England had recommended in 1730 or thereabouts: trifling differences in phraseology there must have been, and the more important differences of discipline varying with particular constitutions are also certain, while it seems likely that some national variations in the modes of recognition had become established long before 1730; but, after all, exactly the same natural differences exist to-day and prove no matter for division: in short, I have been forced to adopt the conclusion that there can have been nothing of importance to differentiate the bulk of the English Modern Masons from their Antient brethren in England, Ireland, Scotland, or the Greater Britain across the Atlantic.

Weighty evidence in support of this opinion is to be found in the Minute Book of Shamrock Lodge No. 27, Cork, preserved in Freemasons' Hall, Dublin:—

> "15th May, 1751. Bros. Jos: Daltera and James Bonbonous of Bristol came to visit the Lodge, who being Examin'd by the Secretary & Bror. Sarsield, and they making a good report of them, they were allow'd to be admitted."

> "4th December, 1751. Brors. Edwd. Scott and Walter Hussey the former of the Lodge of Bristol, and the latter of Mt. Surat, requested to be admitted as Visiting Brethren & were allow'd to be received being fully Examin'd by the Secretary."

> "16th November, 1752. Bror. Geo: Norris (being Recd. an Enter'd apprintice in Bristol and being balloted for & admitted to be Recd. last Lodge Night) was pass'd to the Degree of a fellow craft."

> "5th August, 1783. Visited by Bror. Jams. Whitechurch of No. 445 Sea Captains' Lodge, Bristol." [A Modern Lodge, now Royal Sussex Lodge of Hospitality No. 187.]

As English pendants to these Irish instances there is the case of Brother Peter Taylour, of Cork, who visited the Bristol Lodges in 1739, as I am informed by Bro. Powell, and the case of Brother Robert Millikin, also of Cork. The latter tells us in *Historico-Masonic Tracts* (1848) that he visited a Modern Lodge in Bristol about 1793 and could discover no difference from his home ritual save a few phrases in opening the Lodge. Not to confine these instances to merely one English district, we have the Minutes of Royal Alfred Lodge No. 455 Oxford (*A.Q.C.* xxii., 155), where, under date 3rd April, 1777, is entered "a visitor from Lodge 97 in the City of Dublin."

These instances show that certain very important centres of English Masonry (and the list could be greatly extended) not only had not varied the ancient working but also were prepared to receive and reciprocate Irish Masonic hospitality even in the very bitterest period of the Antient and Modern controversy. This unofficial evidence of fraternization is the more important, as from the year 1772 on the Grand Lodge of Ireland had pledged itself not to recognize Modern Masonry. It had agreed to hold correspondence with the Grand Lodge of the Antients as early as 1758, but the formal compact, to which the Grand Lodge of Scotland was a third party, was not set out in documentary form till 1772. I am inclined to believe, therefore, that when the word 'Modern' crops up in Irish Masonic documents of the end of the eighteenth century it need not necessarily be taken as referring to every adherent of the Original Grand Lodge of England, but is more likely to have been used in the narrower sense, as meaning those of its adherents who had adopted the altered ritual.

I think I can prove my case by a reference to the Minutes of the Grand Lodge of the Antients itself: under date 1st June, 1774, we read:—

> "Resolved Unanimously That all Antient Masons (of Repute) under the Sanction of the Moderns that may be inclined to obtain an Authority from this R.W. Grand Lodge shall by applying any time before the 24th June 1774 be warranted, and the Expence of such Warrant to be charged only as a Renewal."

It is also a curious and pregnant fact that among all the pirated copies of Dermott's *Ahiman Rezon* which were published in Ireland during the eighteenth century, not a single one reprinted the famous attack on the Modern Masons. This is strange, as Ireland was supposed to be the banner-bearer of the Antient system. It almost looks as if the Irish Masons scrupulously avoided all meddling with what they considered a purely domestic quarrel in England.

Certain it is, that when the Union was first mooted the Grand Lodge of Ireland did its best to urge forward this desirable consummation.

But, as we know, some years of misunderstanding had to pass before this was accomplished, and a letter from Thomas Corker, D.G. Secretary of Ireland, to Lodge 668, Dungannon, dated 21st May, 1790, gives the official ruling. (Original preserved in Freemason's Hall, Dublin.)

> "Dr. Sr. & Br.,
> I recd. yours & in Ansr. must inform you that a modern Mason can or ought not to be admitted in a lodge of Ancient Masons—without passing the courses over again as if the same had never been p'formed—their mode and ours being so different—etc."

Both sides of the medal are shown in entries on the Minutes of the Grand Lodge of Ireland in 1786. On the 6th April Thomas McInnerhy was allowed to join No. 171, Dublin, on being re-obligated: while on the 3rd August Bro. Lloyd Eades, a member of No. 8, London, now the well-known Kent Lodge No. 15, was given permission to join No. 402, Dublin, without going through any ceremony, being an Antient Mason.

It was but natural that the Modern Lodges should retaliate. The Minutes of Somerset House Lodge, 8th April, 1793, mention:—

> "John Tubbs Esq., of Stephen's Green, Dublin (an Ancient Mason) was proposed, and duly seconded, to be initiated into the Mysteries of Masonry." (Sadler's *Dunckerley*, page 97.)

Generally speaking, the greatest harmony existed between the Grand Lodge of the Antients in England and the Grand Lodge of Ireland, but it must not be imagined that every Irish Mason who made his way into Antient circles in England was taken at his own valuation. There is a very striking passage in the Minutes of the Antients, dated 7th March, 1770:—

> "Heard the Petn. of Wm. Harris, Thos. Humphries, & John Jennings (Certified from the Grand Lodge of Ireland) for a Dispensation to hold a Lodge in Keat Street Spittlefields. Rejected as it did not appear to the Grand Lodge that they were qualified."

Which shows us that in those days, even as now, due care was exercised before a Warrant was issued. What the lacking qualification was we can only conjecture.

Perhaps the most interesting phase of this good understanding between the Grand Lodges of Ireland and the Antients is found in the fraternization of their military Lodges abroad. Having treated the matter fairly fully in a paper read before another Masonic body (Manchester Association for Masonic Research, 1923), I need not go into it at length now, beyond mentioning that in the last decade of the eighteenth century the Irish Military Lodges at Gibraltar not only supported the Antient Provincial Grand Lodge of Andalusia, but through it paid contributions to the Grand Lodge in London, though retaining their Irish allegiance; and, further, the Grand Grodge of Ireland ordered its Lodges stationed at the Rock to submit to the ruling of the Provincial G.L. of Andalusis, though the latter was a branch of the Sister Constitution. A good Masonic understanding could hardly find a more illuminative record.

That the Grand Lodge of Ireland was ready to amplify that good understanding was proved soon after the Lodge of Promulgation had met in London with results full of such incalculable good for Freemasonry all over the world. On the 6th September, 1810, there was founded at Kilkeel, Co. Down, Zion Lodge No. 144. The first grantee of this Warrant was a well-known local Mason, Alexander Chesney, who in his youth had emigrated to South Carolina, but, having taken the Loyalist side in the War of Independence, had returned to Ireland in 1782 to become a Coast Officer. The second grantee, who is the person we are mainly concerned with, was one Thomas Spence, who belonged to No. 116 America. This is undoubtedly Union Lodge, Charleston, S.C., which

was issued by the Moderns as No. 248 on 3rd May, 1755, and was not erased from the lists till 1813. Brother Wonnacott informs me that the Lodge never made any returns to London, but this Irish record shows that it was still able to pass on the torch of Freemasonry in 1810. I suggest that as a result of the recommendations of the Lodge of Promulgation the Grand Lodge of Ireland had decided that distinctions between Antient and Modern were now merely matters of terminology, and that, metaphorically speaking, it determined to mark that decision by entrusting one of its Warrants to a Modern Mason at the earliest possible opportunity.

No *aperçu* of the Masonic relations between the two Constitutions would be complete without a mention of the 'sojourners,' Masons travelling away from home, who were forced to apply for charity. The Grand Lodge of Ireland was poor, and home applicants rarely received more than one guinea at a time; it is pleasing to find that when larger sums were granted these usually went to an English applicant. Thus three guineas were paid on 10th December, 1789, to Thomas Power of No. 280 in Great Britain, and another three guineas on 5th August, 1790, to James Crow of No. 25 Liverpool. We find that in such cases a nominal 'modernity' was no bar to relief. Thus on the 7th September, 1804, charity amounting to £2 5s. 6d. (Irish currency) was given to Brother Henry McArdel of No. 463 England, a Modern Lodge, now Lodge of Friendship 277 Oldham.

As candidates for charity in Ireland were carefully tested as to their Masonic knowledge, this record is a valuable sidelight on what the Lancashire ritual was before the Union.

I also think it bears out my contention that the Grand Lodge looked not so much at the image and superscription on the coin as at the metal which composed it.

These entries show that the poorer country attempted to do its duty by distressed Masons from a Constitution that was a constant benefactor of indigent Irish Masons. In numberless instances these applicants received money to carry them back to Ireland—*e.g.*, "Ordered 2 guineas to John Dignan (by the hands of Wm. Dignan of No. 17) towards defraying his charges to Dublin": Minutes Grand Stewards' Lodge, 7th June, 1758—but I fear that some of them outstayed their welcome.

There was a certain Brother John Brown who hailed from No. 207 Dublin.[1] His record of applications runs:—

16th March, 1796. John Brown of 207 Ireland 2 guineas.
18th May, 1796. John Brown No. 207 Ireland 2 guineas.

[1] Bro. W. Jenkinson has kindly copied for me the entries relating to Bro. Brown in his Mother Lodge 207:—

3rd March, 1777 . . . Mr. John Brown proposed and desired to be prepared . . .

17th March, 1777 . . . Brother John Browne only appearing. he was raised to the first step of Masonry, a Lecture went round thereon.

31st March, 1777 . . . a Second Step was given to Mr. Brown.

14th April, 1777 . . . a Third Step was given to Mr. Brown.

26th May, 1777 . . . Mr. Brown having informed this Lodge that his necessary avocations obliged him to go for (*sic*) England and as he is a young Bro. not being before few months a Mason, and having paid all his dues prays a Certificate from this Body in order to enable him to get a Grand Lodge Certificate, which was accordingly agreed to, under the Restriction & Usage of the Grand Lodge Rule No. 24.

27th Oct., 1777 . . . Went to an Election of Officers for the ensuing half year when Bro. Brown (elected) Junr. Deacon.
but in Roll of Members covering dates 10th & 24th Novr. is written opposite Bro. Brown's name "Drue his Certificate," and in the space for 8th Decr. the next entry appears "pd." (*i.e.*, the 6d. per night). Bro. Brown is not mentioned in the Minutes of any of these three communications, but on the 5th Jan., 1778, "Bro. Mat. Keerman was installed Junr. Deacon," so presumably Bro. Brown had gone.

21st September, 1796. John Brown No. 207 Ireland 1 guinea.
19th October, 1796. Petition of John Brown No. 207 Ireland Rejected.
15th February, 1797. John Brown of No. 207 Ireland Rejected.
January, 1803. John Brown of 207 Ireland (1777) a carpenter at Jones's Royal Circus afflicted with a rupture and turned 60 years of age 3 guineas.
15th January, 1806. John Brown 207 Ireland Cert. 1777 Rejected.

Thus far the records of the Antients, but I should not be surprised if the Moderns' charity also was tapped and that after 1813 the United Grand Lodge of England still found John Brown marching on, certificate in one hand and petition in the other.

The Union having come to pass there ensued in 1814 the International Compact, which, of course, knit the bonds very much closer between the two Constitutions. At the very next meeting after the terms of that Compact had been entered in its Minute Book, the Grand Lodge of Ireland proceeded to grant a new Warrant, No. 50, to the Fourth Regiment of Dragoons (dated 5th January, 1815), and all three grantees were English Masons. They were James Pat Cullen, Lodge of Union No. 275, London (now No. 166); William Bartlett, No. 262 King's Own Staffordshire Militia; and Thomas Treacher No. 24 Deal. Already in 1809 the Grand Lodge of Ireland had expressed to Brother Stephen Plumpton, of No. 183 E.C., held in the Ninth Regiment its readiness to give him leave to revive Warrant No. 246, formerly held in that regiment; but, apparently, the project came to nothing, and this instance of No. 50 in 1815 is the first occasion I know of in which an Irish Warrant was granted to Masons all of whom certainly belonged to another Constitution. It was a precedent often followed during the last century.

Taking a jump of almost a hundred years, however, history has repeated itself in our own time in a way that will particularly appeal to the members of Quatuor Coronati. It seems that the first Warrant issued by any Constitution for Siam was Menam Lodge No. 300 for Bankok, granted by the Grand Lodge of Ireland on the 4th October, 1900. The three names in the Warrant were George F. Travers-Drapes (No. 2604 E.C.); Charles Thorne (No. 218 E.C.); and William Edward Sharp (No. 1342 E.C.). Brother Travers-Drapes was a Past Deputy District Grand Master of Burma under the English Constitution, and acted as Local Secretary for Quatuor Coronati in that country. Unfortunately he died at Singapore on the 28th October, 1900, and the Lodge which he had hoped to found in Siam was never constituted. The incident, however, deserves a special mention as showing the respect held by prominent English Masons for the Sister Constitution, manifested by their desire to establish one of its Warrants abroad, and the confidence shown by the Grand Lodge of Ireland in granting the request of the petitioners—a confidence based on a long experience of English Masonry.

My aim in presenting these scraps out of the rag-bag of history is to suggest that at every period in the story of the world's two oldest Masonic Constitutions we can find traces of the same fraternal feelings that unite us to-day. When I contrast this with what might be termed the profane history of the same two countries during the same periods, we can only be grateful that a bond of brotherly affection, philanthropic aims and ethical ideals should have been the common property of the most broad-minded and enlightened citizens of both lands. Though matters of ritual and procedure may have been visualized by each Constitution from a different angle, in all that makes our great Brotherhood vital and universal, there never has been and there never will be any difference between English and Irish Masonry, or, for that matter, between these twain and any other Constitution that has preserved the old landmarks.

In conclusion, it only remains for me to express my profound belief that the Irish Mason who has had the good fortune to pursue his labours in the Royal Art somewhat farther East than the confines of his Mother Constitution is for many things to be envied. In some ways it will be rather like going to

school again: he will have to unlearn his accustomed mode of wearing the apron and the use of certain archaic expressions which in this country appear to have survived more tenaciously in Medical than in Masonic parlance; but before he has shed even those traces of insularity he will have discovered that in the essence of what really matters there is no change at all. No, there is no change: he will find that inside the walls of a Masonic Lodge the very best of company is grouped, that the atmosphere of brotherly love knows nothing of alterations of longitude, and that the tongue of brotherly welcome speaks from Newcastle to London a language that cannot be mistaken, even if it misses its distinguishing Irish feature, the brogue; in short, the 'sojourner' of our days will speedily discover that Masonry is the same East or West.

That in itself is a great privilege: and when, in addition, he marks the good will of those who but yesterday were strangers to him, experiences the friendship and understanding sympathy of those new brethren in whose labours he now shares, learns of the amazing generosity which meets every demand of the poor and distressed, and finds a place in the ranks where he can continue to serve as happily and perhaps as usefully as ever before, then he will indeed find something stirring in his heart that rejoices at the thought of labours still to come.

Brethren, I greet you well.

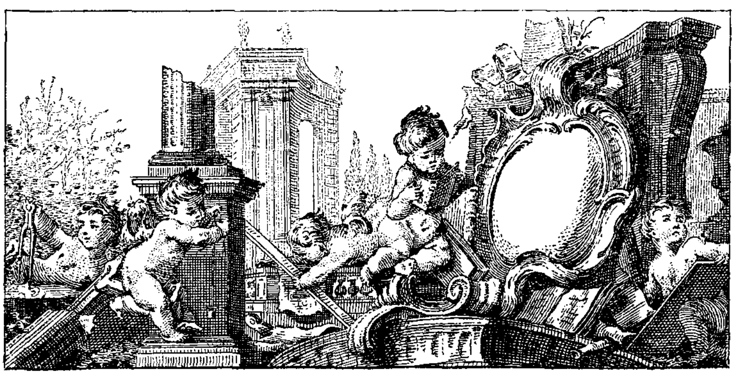
At the subsequent banquet, R.W.Bro. Sir Alfred Robbins, I.P.M., proposed "The Toast of the Worshipful Master":—

Brethren, I have particular pleasure in giving you the toast of the new occupant of the Quatuor Coronati Chair. Our Bro. Lepper, I need hardly remind the Brethren, comes from Ireland, and, though part of his education was in Scotland, he passed his University period at Trinity College, Dublin, where he wound up as Senior Moderator in Modern Literature. He put to immediate practical use the literature he had learned by becoming connected with journalism when he was twenty-two, as Editor for a time of the *Dublin University Weekly Journal*, and it was only a few months later that, himself the son of an Antrim Freemason, he was initiated on March 21st, 1901, in Acacia Lodge No 7, Belfast, and, joining the Harmonic Lodge No. 282, at Carrickfergus, he became an Installed Master in 1906. At various times he was a member, not only of the second Carrickfergus Lodge, but one in Dublin and another in Belfast, while he had the very great distinction of being a Founder and the first Secretary in March, 1913, of a third Carrickfergus Lodge, the J. Heron Lepper Temperance Lodge No. 346. The greatest service he did for Masonry while in Ireland was to be one of the Founders in 1913 of the Lodge of Research No. 200, Dublin, the Chair of which he filled six years later, that being a body which has given very great help in the special direction it was established to pursue. 1913 saw also a broadening of our new Master's activities by his joining the Correspondence Circle of our own Lodge, of which he was elected a full member in 1922, having, previously to the latter event, joined in 1918 a London Lodge, the Ionic No. 227, of which he was Master two years later.

In regard to the Royal Arch, it is especially interesting to English Masons to know that, as a preliminary to exaltation in Carrickfergus Chapter No. 253, in 1902, he received the Mark Degree, according to Irish custom, and, doing as good work in the Royal Arch as in the Craft, he rose, through various Lodge and Provincial Offices, to a position of Grand Officer in Ireland corresponding to that of Scribe N. in our English Rite. I will not attempt to describe his Masonic activities which touch the Mark, Knight Templary, and

the Rose Croix, as well as the Cryptic and Allied Degrees, the Ark Mariner, and the Royal Order of Scotland.

Having, like most of his fellow-journalists with any pretensions to authorship—and I will include myself among the number—started his literary efforts with novel writing, he entered the field of Masonic authorship in 1915 with a work on "The Differences between English and Irish Ritual," following this up with "Fraternal Communication between the Grand Lodges of England and Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," which was given in 1923 before the Manchester Association for Masonic Research; "Irish Illegal Societies," which is an unpublished paper in Quatuor Coronati archives; "Fifty Years of Freemasonry in Antrim," published in our *Transactions* for 1922; and, in conjunction with Bro. Philip Crossle, "The Bi-Centenary History of the Grand Lodge of Ireland," volume 1 of which is at present in the press, and it promises to prove of the accuracy and value we have been led to anticipate from so careful and diligent a student. But, if I limit myself to this description, it might be asked with some irreverence, "Can these dry bones live?" for I have known Brethren possessed of very striking mental and Masonic abilities who repelled rather than attracted their fellows because of their lack of what our American friends term "red blood." Our new Master is fully possessed of that commodity in the best sense. He has endeared himself to us all by his charm of manner and good humour in all circumstances. We welcome him, therefore, most cordially into a position which we are absolutely certain, from our intimate acquaintance with him, will prove to be one not only of great honour to himself and of high credit to the Lodge, but of enduring value to the Craft as a whole.



REVIEWS.

THE WAY OF ATTAINMENT.

By Sydney T. Klein.

London, Rider & Co. (Price 5s.).

SOME who have read this latest literary effort of our Bro. Sydney Klein may be inclined to question whether a review of it here is germane to the purpose of our Lodge, even if the wider query which Bro. Hammond propounded when reviewing in our *Transactions* (xxv., 339) a former volume by the same author does not again recur, viz., what tie exists between this book and Freemasonry?

In defence let me say that some of us still remember the powerful impression produced in our minds when, in the Quatuor Coronati Lodge, in 1898, Bro. Klein originated that series of "Hidden Mysteries" (in *A.Q.C.* xi.) which he subsequently developed in other essays (xxiij., 107; xxv., 285), and of which his three published books constitute still further extensions. We, and others at that time, felt that our conception of Freemasonry had been permanently altered by those expositions; which were designed to exhibit our Craft as potentially a spiritual lodestone rock for seers, as well as a fossiliferous quarry for antiquarians. In this way Bro. Klein was a pioneer in guiding our reflections to that most interesting of all Masonic studies—the knowledge of ourselves—and the glamour of his Vision then has helped many disciples since to master the meaning of Masonry. Freemasons, therefore, have been indebted to Bro. Klein (among others) for emphasizing the fact that they are not mere descendants of builders; they *are* builders: builders of a Second Temple—a spiritual mansion which shall be meet for Divine habitation.

His present book, however, is not intended to be regarded as a Masonic work strictly speaking. Bro. Klein is a mystic as well as a Mason, and it is mainly for students of mysticism that his book has been written. Mysticism, like Masonry, involves a quest for something which is lost, and (to *some* extent, at all events) their paths of search coincide. But even as a "Way of Attainment" to mystical gnosis Bro. Klein's vista is disappointingly vague, though he gives us glimpses of his own spiritual experience which seem too sacred to be criticized. He would have us believe that intellectualism is illusory; yet it is to our intellectual faculties that he appeals in his endeavour to demonstrate that Truth is attainable only by a different 'Way.' We are accordingly faced with the paradox that whilst Klein the scientist bases his theorem on scientific inductions, Klein the mystic contends that it is isolate in mid-air, like the fabulous coffin of Mahomet. His friends will doubtless say such a paradox is characteristic of its author, but, none the less, it is disconcerting.

One must inevitably regret that faulty arguments advanced in his *Science and the Infinite*, some of which were cogently exposed years ago in Bro. Hammond's review, are unconcernedly repeated in the present volume. For instance, it is far from an established certainty that our mental and spiritual faculties—the main and unique *essentia* of the human ego—*must* have evolved

from the physical instincts of simian predecessors; or, again, even if (as he contends) Space and Time are only mental illusions, it does not follow that every individual human spirit *must* be omniscient and omnipresent; nor, yet again, that in the Divine Mind the universe *must* be an 'instantaneous' (*i.e.*, momentary rather than everlasting) 'thought.' Another fallacious excerpt (reaffirmed, though not reargued, on p. 26) is that it is conceivable that at a not very distant date we may have in our hands books which will be written five thousand years' hence. It is one thing to demonstrate that time future (to us) is already existent elsewhere, but quite another thing to assert that our own future events or actions are already existent. That whatever has in the past been enacted on earth may still seem a present entity somewhere else in Space is certainly conceivable. But no amount of 'intellectual gymnastics' can prove that terrestrial events or acts which have not yet begun to exist, and which must obviously depend upon human free-will and other contingencies, can possibly be apparent as actualities somewhere else in Space. Moreover, as regards any record of such hypothetical events, it is more than probable that long before the birth of any people who may be living on this earth five thousand years from now some very different medium for recording ideas will have superseded printed books; and even if we could attain in the meantime a prescience of such 'akashic' literature we must still lack the key to decipher its meaning.

Bro. Klein is hampered by his axiomatic acceptance of the tripartite nature of man—body, soul and spirit—which postulates that the body is an integral part of the ego and necessitates applying a peculiar definition to the term 'Soul' (p. 43), yet requires the hypothesis of a 'physical ego' (which, after all, is psychical) as well as a 'real personality' which is spiritual. Our real personality may be very unlike what to our present consciousness it appears to be; but to whatever degree our consciousness of it may be transformed—whether by mystical ecstasy in this life or by gradual progress in the hereafter—the Ego must be an identity single and constant throughout.

Another and a more serious matter for regret is that Bro. Klein should have gone out of his way to call in question religious doctrines which are firmly cherished by many who would fain be his disciples without sacrificing them. His polemical Chapter IV., disputing at tedious length such generally accepted doctrines as the Holy Trinity and the Virgin Birth of Jesus, will cause pain and provoke antipathy. Bro. Klein himself admits that such personal beliefs are non-essentials to the 'Way of Attainment,' and we all know that there have been (and are) many advanced mystics who have yet adhered to Christian creeds, so the controversy is unnecessary besides being logically unsatisfactory. Even the general reader will feel that for an ordinary layman thus to challenge doctrines which for centuries have been maintained by the highest theological authorities in Christendom is an act more rash than wise. Unfortunately, too, his prejudice here has even led him astray concerning indisputably historical facts. To suggest that the Christian Church in mediæval Europe encouraged witchcraft and magic (*vide* p. 109), and that Islam arose as a secession from Christianity (p. 123), is as wide of the truth as that the formulation of the Trinitarian dogma at Nicea in A.D. 325 was in any way influenced by the idea of a divine triad worshipped at Thebes eighteen centuries previously (p. 122). The entire chapter bristles with such fallacies, and the book would have been far better without it.

Nevertheless, the book reveals many valuable ideas; and Freemasons (whether mystically inclined or not) will peruse it with profit and pleasure—all the more so because of the comparative absence of mystical jargon which mars many similar works. The chapters on the power of prayer and 'Nature of the Ascent' recall the spirit underlying the Ancient Mysteries and other cults for attaining a supra-normal consciousness of God; and will cause a wistful twinge of regret in the hearts of those who fear lest the resultant 'knowledge' may after all be but another illusion, a product of self-hypnotism. Those who

have read the author's previous works will find themselves familiar with many of the facts adduced as illustrations, but their repetition is sometimes inevitable and is usually helpful. The continual reiteration of expressions, such as 'worshipping the fetish,' 'universe still in its infancy,' 'cause of all causation,' 'intellectual gymnastics' and the 'Reality of Being' (which is sometimes a synonym for God and sometimes an occult abstraction) is not so charitably justifiable; and the style though usually lucid is not always elegant; but withal the book has enriched us with a further insight into the soul of a profound thinker and an honoured Past Master in Masonry, and we greet it accordingly.

W. W. COVEY-CRUMP.

May, 1926.

HISTOIRE DE LA FRANC-MAÇONNERIE FRANÇAISE. LA FRANC-MAÇONNERIE CHEZ-ELLE.

By Albert Lantoine. Paris, 1925.

This admirable work is especially valuable with regard to the two great organisations which actually exist in France—the Grand Orient and the Supreme Council of the so-called Scottish Rite. The Author has followed the progress of these bodies from their introduction up to the present day. He has successfully avoided the mistake of most Masonic writers who endeavour to make the facts fit in with their theories. An apt example of this he quotes from Dr. Oliver's *Antiquities of Freemasonry*: "Ancient Masonic tradition asserts—and with this I thoroughly agree—that our society existed before the creation of this terrestrial globe, through the different solar systems."

In an interesting chapter on the probable sources from which Freemasonry sprang, the Author shows that builders, as well in the ancient as in the modern era, have possessed peculiar privileges, but the designation 'Freemason' did not belong to the labourer, being only given to those who contributed intelligently to the erection of edifices, that is, the architects and the stone workers. From these came the attributes characteristic of the Order, the Square, Level and Compasses. In like manner the signs of recognition, unknown to the outside world, served to distinguish them from the ordinary unskilled workmen, who possessed no secrets.

In the Gothic period the builders of the cathedrals did not necessarily or even usually belong to the country in which they were working; they were Freemasons who went where work was to be found. From this intercourse with diverse peoples and conditions was acquired that sense of honour, uprightness and artistic feeling which led to protection by the great powers in the land, and went further as the virtues of the Masons became known, and these great personages sought to become honourary members of the society.

The chapter on the actual origin of the English Grand Lodge calls for no comment except that it is a clear and concise account. The Author emphasizes rightly the importance of the step, which not only gradually eliminated the Operative Lodges, but brought into Freemasonry a definite governing body. Up to this time a Mother Lodge had no right of control over its Daughter Lodges, each of which regulated its proceedings in its own way. Its only power was to act as arbitrator in trade disputes. When, however, the operative element was superseded by the speculative one, and the working tools of the one became the emblems of morality of the other, then the new order of things required new methods and a stabilisation which could only be brought about by a powerful centralized governing body.

The second part of the book deals with "The Principles on which Freemasonry is founded," and begins at the time when the newly-formed Grand

Lodge laid down certain requisites for the regulation of its affairs, *e.g.*, when Payne in 1721 enunciated the doctrine that no new Lodge could be formed without the concurrence and approval of the Grand Master; thus bringing into being the obligation of the members to render obedience to the government which they had chosen—a maxim on which rests the whole of our civilisation and social well-being.

In the chapter on the Principles of Tolerance the Author does not always do justice to Anderson, as he himself says—"in translating a document our imagination ought to come to the aid of our intelligence." What Anderson seems to have had in his mind in 1723, when he printed the well-known clause relating to religious toleration, was that belief is always desirable but that diversity of belief is permissible. M. Lantoine thinks that this clause really meant the revolt of the Intelligence against the oppression of the Faith—that is, the Christian Faith. England has always been a land given to religious systems and theological discussions; Scotland also has not been free from religious controversy; so that, in all probability, Anderson, brought up in Scotland, living in England a Presbyterian in a country officially recognizing the Church of England, had seen the benefits of religious tolerance and introduced the idea into Masonry in England. It is quite true that Freemasonry in its early days welcomed neither the Freethinker nor the Jew. It is probable that Anderson simply thought of the different Christian sects and wished to bring them all into the Masonic fold. He does not use the word 'Christian,' and the effect of the omission of that limitation has been the spread of Masonry among all races and sects, allowing its members to worship in their own way, but insisting on the belief in One Supreme God.

There is no doubt that ancient Freemasons were definitely Christian, and previous to the Reformation definitely Christian of the denomination now known as Roman Catholic. The Author is of opinion that English Freemasonry has been captured by English Protestantism and that that is the reason why the English Grand Lodge will not fraternise with the Latin Grand Lodges.

There are divergences between the English and the Latin mentalities, national as well as Masonic, which are even more brought into prominence in the next chapter on the Landmarks. The English Freemason approves and carries out in practice the maxim forbidding any discussion on religion or politics in Lodge; he has learnt the value of this prohibition and intends to maintain it. In so doing he may not have progressed with the times in the sense that the French have; he may be sadly behind the times, but he does not want his present peaceful Lodge made into an inferno by religious or political differences. Here, again, it is a question of mentality, and so we must leave it.

Indeed, throughout the whole of this interesting book we meet the same curious differences in the angle subtended by the object. Truth is the same from whatever angle it is viewed, but it is sometimes difficult to discover if we are discussing the same thing, the real truth or an imaginary one; whether we are playing with words or dealing with reality.

And so it is in the chapter on Obligatory Deism. Anderson does not mention the God of the Scriptures, he has a far grander conception, the Great Architect of the Universe, not the God of this world merely, but the God of this and of all the other worlds, known and unknown. The human race is so constituted that it must have a god of some sort, even Robespierre made the Convention decree, so they name it, *décréter* the Existence of the Supreme Being, and likewise *le principe consolateur* of the Immortality of the Soul. The French Freemasons have gone on a long way beyond Robespierre. M. Lantoine gives a very good *resumé* of the philosophical teachings of the eighteenth century and has evidently read most of the writings of the time, but England did not accept the theism of Bolingbroke or the pantheism of Toland, but remained supremely indifferent to both. The indifference may have been due to stupidity, to invincible ignorance if you like, but those teachings got no hold on the people, learned or untaught. It may be correct that "in

England, Freemasonry from its birth has been useful to the Church and to the State. Nearly everywhere else the Church and the State have repulsed her."

The Third Part, "Freemasonry in France during the 18th century," is perhaps the best and most informative portion of the book. Here the writer is on his own ground, he is a master of this period, and treads securely when dealing with facts on which there is no disputing his authority. Indeed, his theories have an aspect of verisimilitude which is all the more refreshing because they happen to coincide with those of the reviewer. (This is always a consummation most devoutly to be wished, though rarely attained.)

Freemasonry in France according to Lalande started in 1725, the Lodge being called *Au Louis D'Argent* after the name of the restaurant where it was held. Here it is advisable to quote in full the footnote on pp. 54-55:—"Up to this date [1910] the chronological list of the Grand Masters and Presidents of the Order in France began by these imaginary statements: 1725, Lord Derwentwater. 1726, Lord Harnouester. The yearbook of 1910, to explain their omission, gives this note which shows courage but which nevertheless gives evidence of the vitality of the legends spread up to that time with reference to the birth of the French Freemasonry: 'Because of our desire for historic truth, we have omitted the two first names placed, in the preceding yearbooks, on the list of Grand Masters, Lord Derwentwater and Lord Harnouester. It is nowhere established that the first was, in 1725, the founder of the first Lodge in France, and still less that he was Grand Master, for there did not exist a Grand Lodge to elect him. The second probably never existed, his name probably is a French malformation of Derwentwater; he does not appear in the English Peerage.'" It might be a good thing to bring this note before the various historians who have wrestled with the problem at much length.

Freemasonry became fashionable, the nobility of France and of Europe generally, flocked to its meetings, the Brotherhood of Man was preached by the Encyclopædists and everybody else almost *ad nauseam*, and the Revolution was at hand. In all the obscurities of this wonderful period M. Lantoine is a sure guide. The gyrations of the Craft were sufficiently remarkable to bring about a feeling of dizziness in an ordinary brain; Lodges sprang up, died, were born again under the same name or a variation, and everybody seems to have done that which was right and pleasant in his own eyes.

The evolution of the Scottish Masonry is described in the Fourth Part. The Author calls it the most troublesome enigma in Masonic history, and on the whole we agree with him. "What is Scottish Masonry, or perhaps it would be better to ask whence comes the name *ecossaise*? We do not know." An Author who can say this is worth reading and worthy of respect. He quotes the interesting letters of Dr. Manningham in 1756 and 1757, and then, having tentatively claimed for France the credit of the origin of the Rite, he goes on to trace the probable sources from which the Rite may have been derived. A consideration of the works of Elias Ashmole and of earlier writers such as Sir Thomas More (whose name is curiously spelt Morus), leads on to the probable actual originator so far as publicity can go, in the published works of John Valentin Andreas, in the 'Chemical Marriage of Christian Rosenkreuz,' and the 'Fama Fraternitatis.' The Author does not believe in the existence of Rosicrucianism, but thinks it to be the product of the fertile imagination of Andreas. To this, he suggests, the final touch of mysticism was added by Dr. Robert Fludd, and "The faithful hastened to this mystic Rose-Croix, which became a rallying point for the dreamers to whom revealed religion was not enough, and for the scientists wishing to create, aside from the profane world, an atmosphere suitable at the same time to their intelligence and to their spiritual longings."

The Higher Grades do not allow the liberty of belief affirmed by the Grand Lodge of England (M. Lantoine *will* write *Grande Loge de Londres*) and still less will they admit the Protestant tendency of English Craft Masonry. On the contrary the Higher Grades in France formed in the Masonic tree a branch Catholic and political. The Lodges in which these Rites were practised

were those in which took place a secret propaganda in favour of Catholicism and of the re-establishment of the Stuart family on the Throne of England. Truly a paradox that from the ultraprotestant antiritualist Andreas should have directly or indirectly sprung the High Church ritualist Rosecroix. Whether the Rosecroix arose from and by the Stuart faction in France is very ably and temperately discussed, but this much is certain: that Charles Edward in 1780 definitely stated that he was not and never had been a Freemason and that he knew nothing about Freemasonry or its observances. This whole chapter is too long to quote but is well worth careful attention. In it all the authorities are cited and the sources of information are clearly stated. The general conclusion is that much may be said on both sides. The little biographical notice on the Chevalier Ramsay is useful because in it are given full details of his career. He does not appear to have been a person of importance in anything, and certainly did not invent the Rose Croix.

The chapter on the Knights Templar gives a good account of the Order. It is correct historically, and is written without that partisanship which disfigures so many accounts. The Templars had become more powerful than the king, and so were a danger to the State; hence their fall. The Larmenius fable receives its quietus, and we hope to have heard the last of this extraordinary invention.

If Freemasonry in France during the eighteenth century was rather difficult to follow, its difficulties were simple compared with the complications of the nineteenth century. The Napoleonic period, followed by the series of revolutions and political disturbances which have characterized France during the last hundred years, were not favourable to stability in anything. Yet Freemasonry survived.

In 1872, after the fall of the Empire, the Grand Orient ceased to have a Grand Master and since that time has been governed by an elected Council, which appoints a president who has no individual authority and is simply *primus inter pares*. In 1877 the Grand Orient did away with the necessity of belief in God and the immortality of the soul. In taking this step it is said not to have been intended as an affirmation of atheism, but rather a return to the doctrines of Anderson's *Constitutions*, which left to every man the complete liberty of his opinions. In spite of the fulminations of the orthodox Lodges, says M. Lantoine, "The Grand Orient remains proudly dwelling under its own tent. It will continue to do so believing that by not insisting upon any dogma in its initiates it is practising better than the others the spirit of the original obligations." As another writer said, "The letter killeth but the spirit giveth life." The summing up of the argument is that the Grand Orient thinks that "Freemasonry does not consider that there should be any limit in the search of truth. It follows as a logical sequence of this attitude that to impose a belief in Deism is forthwith to set a distinct boundary to this search. Furthermore, it is the duty of every society to keep pace with the march of events and not to adhere slavishly to the ancient and worn-out creeds." A very fine piece of special pleading which has left the reviewer quite unmoved and unaltered in his belief that the English Grand Lodge has adopted the better part.

It is worth while observing that the Rite Ecossais has not followed the method of the Grand Orient, on the ground that it is always dangerous to interfere with the letter of tradition; though it is as much, or as little,—whichever you please—irreligious as the Grand Orient. A rather Gilbertian situation, worthy of imitation by some other organisations.

M. Lantoine does not think much of English Masonry; he says "English people go to their Lodge not to think but to amuse themselves with symbols which they do not understand, to go through various signs and ceremonies, and to indulge in a good dinner." This is one of those half-truths which is worse than a lie.

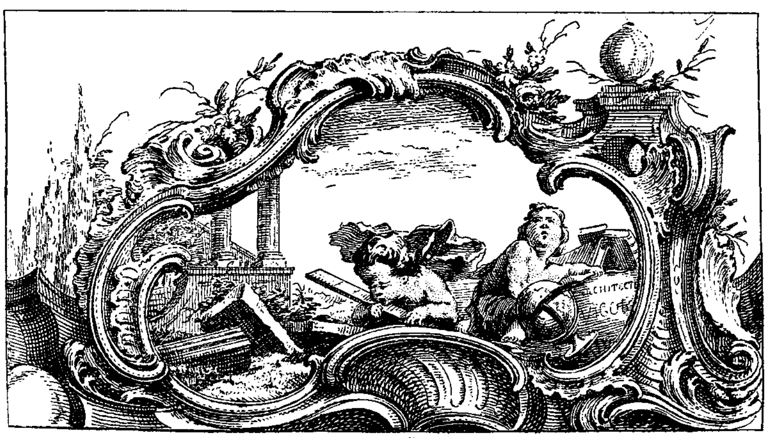
There is a good account of "Woman in Freemasonry," especially the history of *Le Droit Humain* movement, an echo of which we also have with us;

and the concluding chapters give a summary of the conditions of French Freemasonry at the present day.

The work is well-written, and occasionally rises to dramatic intensity. It is as a rule accurate, though there are some errors of spelling, such as Crewley on p. 9: also the Antients were not guilty of schism as stated on p. 20: Desaguliers was never a Doctor of Divinity but was a Doctor of Laws (p. 29); Charles the First was never a Roman Catholic (p. 94): and (p. 207) it is not correct that in England "at the present day the king . . . is Grand Master of all the Masonic Organisations"; though it is nearly correct as regards a member of our Royal family. The book is marked with clearness of composition and of thought, and, whilst sometimes we are reminded with Sterne that "They order this matter better in France," we can confidently recommend it as the best exposition of the past and present condition of Freemasonry in France we have ever read.

JOHN STOKES.

May, 1926.



OBITUARY.

IT is with much regret we have to record the death of the following Brethren:—

Harry Alfred Badman, of London, on the 29th October, 1924. Our Brother was a P.M. of Royal Standard Lodge No. 1298, and had been appointed Assistant Grand Standard Bearer in Grand Lodge. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in June, 1906.

Thomas Burgess, of London, in 1924. He was P.M. of the Jordan Lodge No. 201, and P.Z. of the Warrant Officers' Chapter No. 2346, and was a member of L.R. Bro. Burgess joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1906.

Dr. **Thomas Carr,** M.D., of Blackpool, on 18th July, 1924. Bro. Carr was a P.M. of Fylde Lodge No. 2758 and H. of the Chapter attached thereto. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was admitted in October, 1910.

Arthur Augustus Coster, of Brighton, on 28th November, 1924. He was a P.M. of the Middlesex Lodge No. 143 and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto, and was a member of L.R. Bro. Coster joined our Correspondence Circle in November, 1908.

Ven. Archdeacon **James Brown Craven,** D.D., of Orkney. Our Brother had held office as Dep.Pr.G.M., Caithness, Orkney & Zetland. He was one of the very early members of our Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in February, 1887. Bro. Craven was the writer of books on Robert Flood and Michael Maier, in addition to several archæological works of local interest.

Lawrence Hart Dear, of London, on 10th July, 1924. Bro. Dear was a member of Gihon Lodge No. 49, and had been attached to our Correspondence Circle since June, 1906.

Richard Hopper Holme, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on 2nd July, 1924, at the age of 72 years. Bro. Holme had held the offices of Pr.G.W. in the Craft and Pr.G.Sc.N. in the Royal Arch in Durham. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in October, 1890.

Henry Hyde, of London, on 27th July, 1924. He was P.M. of the Upton Lodge No. 1227 and P.Z. of the Chapter attached thereto, and had been appointed to L.R. Our Brother had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1904.

Fleet-Surgeon **Horace Bruce Marriott,** R.N., of Malta, in 1924. A member of the Navy Lodge No. 2612 and of the Royal Victoria Chapter No. 358. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in October, 1903.

Thomas Lawrence Pryce, F.S.A.A., of Johannesburg, on 16th August, 1924. Bro. Pryce was a member of Everton Lodge No. 823 and of the Johannesburg Chapter No. 2313, and for thirty years had acted as our Local Secretary for Johannesburg. He was a Life Member of the Correspondence Circle, to which he was elected in May, 1890.

William Henry Seamon, of El Paso, Tex., U.S.A., in 1924. Our Brother had held the offices of Deputy Grand Lecturer in Virginia and Missouri; he was a Past Grand Master of Mexico; and Past Grand High Priest of New Mexico. He was a Life Member of our Correspondence Circle, which he joined in May, 1890.

Albert Varey Sharratt, of Manchester, in July, 1924. Bro. Sharratt had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.D., and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1899.

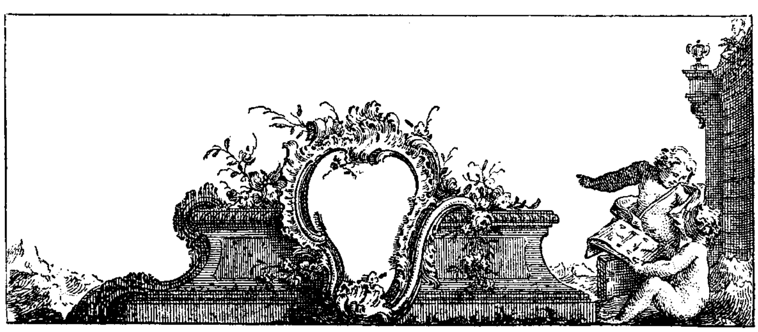
Lieut.-Col. **William Frederick Thomas,** M.D., I.M.S., of Bournemouth, in 1924. Our Brother held the rank of P.Dis.G.D.C., Madras; and P.Pr.G.D., Dorset. He joined our Correspondence Circle in March, 1900.

Alfred Tucker, of Parkstone, Dorset, in 1924. Bro. Tucker had attained the rank of P.Pr.G.D.C., Middlesex, and was P.Z. of the Cyrus Chapter No. 21. He was elected to membership of our Correspondence Circle in May, 1910.

Charles Herbert Walsh, of Guiseley, Yorkshire, on 19th November, 1924. He was a P.M. of the Royal Wharfedale Lodge No. 1108, and had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since November, 1912.

William F. T. Westwood, of London, on the 15th September, 1924. Our Brother had held the offices of Pr.G.Treas. and Pr.G.S.B. (R.A.) in Surrey. He joined our Correspondence Circle in January, 1904.

John Henry Whadcoat, J.P., F.R.C.S., etc., of Parkstone, Dorset, on 18th October, 1924. Bro. Whadcoat held the rank of Past Grand Deacon. He had been a member of our Correspondence Circle since March, 1894.



ST. JOHN'S CARD.

THE following were elected to the Correspondence Circle during the year 1924:—

LODGES, CHAPTERS, Etc.:—Otago Lodge No. 844, Dunedin, N.Z.; Bulawayo Lodge No. 2566, Bulawayo, S. Africa; St. Nicholas Lodge No. 2586, Scarborough; Aurora Lodge No. 4047, Leeds; Ark Lodge No. 10 (I.C.), Belfast; Cape Town Kilwinning Lodge No. 986 (S.C.), Cape Town, S. Africa; Lodge of Research No. 218 (V.C.), Hawthorn, Victoria; Warrington Lodge of Instruction (No. 3597), Warrington; St. Andrew's Lodge of Instruction (No. 3948), Rochester, Kent; The Robinson and Douglas Lodge of Instruction, Maidstone; Flint Masonic Library, Flint, Mich., U.S.A.

BRETHREN:—Ali Zainalabden Alsagoff, of Singapore. J.D. 3946, *508*; William Arbert, of San Diego, Cal., U.S.A. 868 (N.Y.C.); Charles John Arrow, of Hove, Sussex. L.R. *2766*; Dr. James Alfred Ashurst, of Doncaster. 242, *242*; Alec Munro Avent, of Johannesburg. P.M. 3167, H. *3167*; Anthony Marques Stanislaus Barcellos, A.L.A.A., of Georgetown, British Guiana. J.D. 3902, *353* (S.C.); Norman Rhind Barr, of Wanganui. S.W. 705; Alfred Henry Bell, of Middleton, Lancs. P.Pr.G.D., *298*; Andrew Belton, of London, N.W. 214 (I.C.); Clifford Berry, of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 3; Claude Alexander Birts, of Worthing. W.M. 1036, *1036*; Herbert Coulson Booth, of Ryton-on-Tyne. P.M. 1557, A.So. *2260*; Dr. Charles John George Bourhill, of Warrington. 4233, *1336*; Albert David Bowl, of Barking, Essex. P.M. 3165; Gerald Arthur Augustine Bradnack, of Barton-on-Humber. 1447; Marston Charles Bridger, of Chingford, Essex. Past Grand Deacon, Victoria; Wilfrid Brinkworth, of West Hampstead, London. S.W. 3269, *1624*; George Bernard Brook, F.I.C., of Kinlochleven, Argyll. P.G.D.C., Inverness-shire, P.G.J., Argyll and the Isles; Donald Fullarton Brown, of London, N. 5.; Edward Brown, of Cardiff. 3959; John Frederick Buckley, of London, N. 2732; Sydney Arthur Burton, of London, E. P.M. 4153, *3750*; Edward Lawrence Carter, of London, E.C. S.D. 22; John Richard Caswell, of London, S.W. 3908, *3031*; Frederick William Caunt, of Aberdare. S.W. 679; Joseph Adam Clarke, of Dunoon, Argyll. P.M. 335, P.Z. *496*; Charles James Chapman, of London, N. S.W. 1965; Frederick George Collins, of London, S.W. 3232; George Laxton Collins, jun., of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. J.D. 4349, *48*; Joseph Henry Colyer, jun., of Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A. P.M. 991; Charles A. Cooke, of Regina, Sask. Grand Director of Ceremonies; William Edward Hinchley Cooke, of London, W. 2000, Sc.N. *2000*; William James Coombes, of St. Germain-en-Laye, France. 3; John Williams Couldridge, of Port Elizabeth, S. Africa. P.M. 863, *711*; Thomas Henry Coulson, of Harrow-on-the-Hill, Middlesex. 22; James Cowie, of London, W. J.W. 2696, *2696*; William Leon Cummings, Ph.D., of Syracuse, N.Y., U.S.A. P.M. 950, K. *70*; Harold Wynne Currey, of London, W.C. 2885, *2885*; Arthur Ernest Davies, of Milford Haven. A.Sec. 366; Robert Cropley Davies, of London, W. L.R. *2621*; Rev. Arthur James Dexter, of Falstone, Northumberland. Pr.G.Ch.; George Dickinson, of Leeds. 810; Bernard Thomas Bryant Dillon, of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 3; George Fleming Willoughby Echein, O.B.E., of Glenorchy, Tasmania. Grand Director of Ceremonies; Kenneth Edward Eckenstein, M.B., of London, W. J.W. 2796; Rowland Clarence Eustace, of London, S.W. I.P.M. 1238; Arthur George Evans, of Croydon. P.M. 1769; David Ferris, of Warrenpoint, Co. Down, Ireland. P.M. 23, P.K. *77*; James Fiddes, of London, S.W. W.M. 2857, A.So. *2857*; George Henry Fogden, of London, W. 1992; Gilbert Samuel

Foyle, of London, N.W. 4440; William Alfred Foyle, of London, N. 4440; John Jordan Galwey, of Wallington, Surrey. *901*; William Geoghegan, M.B.E., D.L., of London, S.W. P.M. 620 (I.C.), P.K. *620* (I.C.).; John Giles Austin, of Ilford, Essex. L.R., P.Z. *2841*; Richard Alexander Golding, of Melbourne. 300; Rev. Milo Blanchard Goodall, LL.B., of Rice Lake, Wis., U.S.A. 78, *67*; John Ridd Gould, of Toungoo, Burma. Sec. 1095, A.So. *832*; Major Edgar William Greenslade, of Newton Abbot, Devon. P.Dis.G.Sup.W., Bengal. J. *1138*; James Smith Mirylees Grieve, of Uddingston, Lanarkshire. P.M. 73, P.P. *67*; W. G. Griffiths, Carmarthen. 476, *476*; Edwin Ernest Gruener, of Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A. 223, *288*; Rev. Peter Bolland Halewood, Oxford. 357, *357*; George Ashley Hanby, A.I.St.E., Hessle, Yorkshire. 2134, *2134*; Herbert Joseph Hands, of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. P.M. 3; Henry Augustus Harman, of Accra, Gold Coast, Africa. W.M. 3773, *3065*; Desmond David Harris, of Ouyen, Victoria. 249, *29*; George Harris, of London, W. P.M. 749, *1766*; Frederick Benjamin Oliphant Hawes, of Torquay. P.M. 96, P.Z. *3301*; Sydney Hazeldine, of London, N.W. S.W. 4104, *859*; Gerard Odonal Heron, of Cheshunt, Herts. 1671, *1671*; Albert Daniel Higgens, of London, S.W. P.M. 1373, *4317*; Edward Higgens, of London, N. J.W. 715; James Richard Hitchins, of London, N.W. 2362, *3458*; Charles John Hobden, of London, S.E. 3 (N.Z.C.), *942*; Simon Holland, of London, S.E. P.M. 255, *255*; John Holliday, A.M.I.C.E., of Dublin. G.S.B., *250*; John Walter Hollis, of Sheffield. W.M. 3849; William Henry Hope, of Sunderland. P.Pr.G.R. (Craft & R.A.); Herbert Hossell, of St. Kilda, Victoria. S.W. 300; Frederick Houghton, of London, N. 1805, *1805*; Dr. John Howe, of Manchester. P.M. 2891; George Alexander Hudson, of Monkseaton, Northumberland. S.D. 2821, *2821*; Harry Hutchinson, of Bolton, Lancs. P.M. 350; Christian Harold Ilett, of London, S.W. 3191; Boris Ivanoff, of Teddington. 3794, *174*; Francis Seymour Jackson, of Aberdovey. 1583; Sidney Jackson, of Askam-in-Furness. 358; Charles Kenneth James, of Bushey, Herts. J.W. 2289, *2289*; Fred Louis James, of Birkenhead. *4248*; William Jenkinson, of Armagh. W.M. 623, *409*; Howard Samuel Johns, M.A., of Oxford. 3961; Charles Robert Stansfeld Jones, of Wallingford, Pa., U.S.A. 2; Francis Jones, of London, W.C. J.W. 3505, A.So. *3505*; Taliesin Morgan Jones, of Newcastle Emlyn. S.W. 4648; John Kell, of Cape Town. 334, *334*; F. B. Kiker, of Cordele, Georgia, U.S.A. J.W. 296, P.H.P. *55*; Arthur Gordon Kilner, of Kendal. 3481, *1611*; James George Kilpatrick, of Hampton, Victoria. W.M. 255, *1*; Howard M. King, of Sanderstead, Surrey. W.M. 2096; Sarkis Nazareth Kurkdjian, of Khartoum. 3348; William Thomas Lanes, of Sheffield. 1326; John Francis Legg, F.C.A., of London, E.C. 1962; William Elder Levie, of Aberdeen. 1[ter].; William Lewis, of London, E. P.M. 205, P.Z. *205*; Francis George Lightfoot, of London, S.E. 193; William Edgar Lincoln, of London, W. P.Pr.G.D., Herts., P.Pr.G.St.B. (R.A.), Herts.; Frank Linnell, B.A., of London. P.M. 3048, *2622*; David Willson Lloyd, M.A., of Cardiff. 3959; Prince Constantine Lobanov-Rostovsky, of London, W. 227; James George McAfee, of Belfast. P.G.W., Antrim, P.K. *154*; Andrew MacBride, of Glasgow. P.M. 873, P.Z. *377*; Harold Gordon MacDonald, of Chelsea, Victoria. 72, *6*; Major-General J. D. McLachlan, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., of London, W. P.G.S.B., *2319*; Frederick Thomas Mager, of Peterborough. P.Pr.G.R.; James Malcolm, of Bulawayo, S. Africa. 1204 (S.C.), J. *356* (S.C.); Arthur Horace Marchant, of London, N.W. 820; Herbert Walter Marten, F.C.A., of London, S.W. P.M. 1572, P.Z. *1572*; Dr. Maurice Matenson, of Albury, N.S.W. P.M. 93, *8*; Richard Mathews, of Tangkak, S.S. 2337; Herbert G. Middleton, of Sutton, Surrey. P.M. 3012; John William Miller, of Wareham, Dorset. W.M. 417, P.So. *417*; Norton Milner, M.R.C.S., of Sheffield. P.Pr.G.D.; William Allan Milton, of Buxton. S.D. 1235, *1235*; Harold Mitchell, of Bradford. W.M. 974; Claude Stone Birkin Blewitt Mullett, of London, N. 2898; Gideon Vigilius Nordal, of Gotenburg, Sweden. Librarian Pr.G.Lo.; Edwin Thomas Oakley, of Coventry. P.M. 3818; Frederick George Oliver, of Ickenham, Middx. 1425; John Herbert

Parker, of Norwich. W.M. 1452, A.So. *807*; Christopher James Parsons, of Berkhampstead, Herts. 504; William James Stockman Pearse, of London, N.W. 1637; Thomas Henry Perrons, of Fort William, Canada. 415; Dr. Elmer Theodore Pheils, of Birmingham. W.M. 3391, *3239*; Philip Leader Plant, of Colchester. 1209, *429*; Charles S. Plumb, of Columbus, Ohio, U.S.A. 631, G. Historian; Frederick Jos. Powell, of Dunedin, New Zealand. W.M. 468 (I.C.), Sc.N. *844*; William George Phillips Powell, of Cardiff. 3959; Rodolfo Monic Prince, of Curaçao, D.W.I. P.M. 653; Vincent Louis Puerta, of Havana, Cuba. 609 (Pa.C.), *3* (Pa.C.); James Rafter, M.A., of Bristol. P.Pr.G.O., *187*; Charles Rainsford, of Edgbaston. P.Pr.G.W., P.Pr.G.J.; Robert Leonard Randall, of London, S.E. 1541, *1541*; Leslie Reginald Ray, of London, W. 1657; Aneurin Rees, of Monknash, Glam. 679; Edward Walter Rees, of Cardigan. 476, *476*; George Augustus Richards, of London, N. P.Pr.A.G.D.C., Essex, P.Z. *2005*; Walter Ridgway, of Belmont, Surrey. L.R., P.Z. *2512*; Harry Rigden, of Broadstairs. 2448, A.So. *2448*; Albert Ernest Warden Roberts, of Wembley, Alberta. P.M. 106; Robert Roger Robertson, of Penang, S.S. I.G. 3830, A.So. *1555*; Henry Martyn Robin, of Leongatha, Victoria. 104, *36*; W. H. Robinson, of Sheffield. P.M. 2558; Charles Ross, of London, N. 3021; George Henry Ryde, of Chesterfield. P.M. 681, A.So. *681*; Arthur Philip Samuel Salter, of London, N. P.M. 2932, J. *2458*; William George Sanders, of Mornington, Victoria. P.M. 160, *30*; William Scott, of Saltburn-by-the-Sea. W.M. 543, Sc.N. *543*; Rev. Charles Brodie Shann, of Hong Kong. 3666; *3666*; Thomas Pears Shaw, of London, N.W. P.M. 24 (W.A.C.); Arthur Thomas Smith, of Salisbury. P.Pr.G.D., Wilts., H. *583*; Dr. William Atkins Smith, of Colombo, Ceylon. P.M. 2170, J. *2170*; William Hogg Smith, of Falkirk. D.M. 588, *210*; Leonard William Spriggs, of London, N.W. 227; Harry Edwin Stagg, of London, E.C. 173, *173*; Alfred William Stevenson, of London, E.C. 3781; James Robert Stevenson, of Cummins, S. Australia. P.M. 54; William John Stevenson, of North Wagga Wagga, N.S.W. 22; Jan Frederik Straatman, of Enschede, Holland. Tubantia; Robert Heathfield Stringer, of Hove, Sussex. 452; Walter Stubbings, of London, S.W. 2417, *975*; Alexander Sulter, of De Aar, S. Africa. P.M. 124 (D.C.), *3128*; William Frederick Swan, of Horsell, Woking. W.M. 4257; Montague Lionel Sytner, of Bloemfontein, S. Africa. D.M. 47 (D.C.); Bolton Dan Taylor, of Leeds. P.M. 4047, *304*; Joseph John Tesoriere, of London, S.E. 4263, *2481*; Herbert Watkins Thomas, of Carmarthen. 476, *476*; John Richard Thomas, of London, E.C. 3908; George Anson Thompson, of Melbourne. 2221; John William Thompson, of Colombo, Ceylon. P.M. 2170, Sc.N. *2170*; Hugh Philip Tiemann, of Pittsburg, Pa., U.S.A. 576, *257*; James Allon Tucker, J.P., of Bath. P.A.G.D.C., P.G.S.B. (R.A.); James H. Tucker, of Providence, R.I., U.S.A. 21, G.Sc.; Cornelius C. J. van der Klaauw, of Harbin, China. Sinim (Mass.C.), *1*; Philip Valk, of Newark, N.J., U.S.A. P.M. 112; Miguel Ustrell, of London, W. 1623, *2346*; Rev. George Turner Waldegrave, M.A., of Hong Kong. P.Dis.G.Ch., *3666*; Harry Purssord Walker, of London, N. S.W. 22; William James Wallis-Jones, of Carmarthen. P.Pr.G.R., Z. *476*; A. J. Ward, of Sheffield, P.Pr.G.D.; George Henry Ward, of Sutton, Surrey. P.M. 30, Z. *30*; Edwin George Watson, A.F.I.A., of Melbourne. 4, *32*; Henry Charles Weeks, of Purley, Surrey. L.R., P.Z. *1339*; Dennis Charles Herbert Wells, of London, N.W. 1144; Wilfred Watson Werry, of Montreal. 5 (Ontario C.), *14* (Quebec C.).; Robert Arnold Whitaker, of Halifax, Yorks. S.W. 4177, Pr.G.O. (R.A.); Herbert White, of London, S.W. 1155, *2444*; Reginald Whitehead, of London, W. J.W. 1076, Sc.N. *2032*; Patrick Watson Williams, of Bristol. 3340; John Brown Wilson, of Birmingham. P.M. 473, A.So. *473*; Walter Wilson, of Colne, Lancs. Sec. 116, *116*; Peter Wright, J.P., of Newport, Mon. 4026; and George Sydney Owen Young, of London, N. P.M., 3781, Sc.N. *538*.

Note.—In the above List Roman numerals refer to Craft Lodges, and those in italics to R.A. Chapters.